

**FBIS**

# DAILY REPORT

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REAGAN, SAKURAUCHI DISCUSS TRADE, DEFENSE ISSUES

OW230035 Tokyo KYODO in English 0002 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Washington, March 22 (KYODO) -- President Ronald Reagan Monday met Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi and strongly urged Japan to open its market still wider to foreign goods and services. Speaking to reporters after talks with Reagan at the White House, Sakurauchi said he pledged Japan will make every effort to cut its huge trade surplus with the United States.

Japanese officials, in briefing reporters on the talks, said Reagan hoped Japan will introduce fresh additional market-opening measures before the Versailles summit in June of seven non-communist industrialized nations. By doing so, Japan can make a great contribution to the maintenance of the free trade system, the President was quoted as telling Sakurauchi, here on a five-day visit. The Reagan-Sakurauchi meeting, which lasted about 30 minutes, was also attended by Vice President Goerge Bush and Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

The Japanese foreign minister arrived here at a time when a series of congressional hearings have been held to deliberate on bills to curb the influx of Japanese exports to the United States. U.S. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige recently urged Japan to make a "dramatic" move to cut its mammoth trade surplus, claiming the Japanese market is still closed to foreign goods and services. But Japan has insisted that the trade imbalance was caused by the high U.S. interest rate and the higher dollar trend on money markets all over the world. U.S. Ambassador to Japan Mike Mansfield last week echoed Baldrige's call when he met leaders of Japan's ruling Liberal-Democratic Party.

Reagan told Sakurauchi Monday that Japan-U.S. relations are also important for the entire Western bloc and the world. The President hoped Japan will open its market wider to all of its trading partners to solve serious economic problems plaguing other Western nations and to maintain the free trade system, the Japanese officials said. Diplomatic observers interpreted this as suggesting the possibility of concerted action by the United States and Western Europe against Japan unless it takes further trade measures before the Versailles summit.

Sakurauchi reportedly told the president that his government is making every effort to make its market easier for foreign products to enter with the summit in mind. "The cherry blossoms will soon be in full bloom and at the same time, relations between Japan and the United States will be in full bloom," Sakurauchi told reporters after his talks with Reagan. He added: "If the U.S. economy recovers, then the (Japanese currency) yen will gain strength in the market. We can buy more foreign goods."

Japanese officials said Reagan in principle agreed to meet Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki individually while they are attending the Versailles summit. No exact date has been set, however, they said. Reagan sought more Japanese defense efforts as a member of the Western bloc, saying increased Western power is "important because it is a basis for real arms reduction with the Soviet Union," American officials reported. Japanese officials said the President asked Sakurauchi to resume negotiations to revise the bilateral civil aviation accord which ended in rupture in San Francisco last week. Sakurauchi said the presidential request will be relayed to the Japanese prime minister, the officials added.

Before Reagan, Sakurauchi met Treasury Secretary Donald Regan and was briefed on the prospects of the U.S. economy which is plagued with rampant inflation and a high rate of unemployment. Regan was quoted by Japanese officials as saying that the high interest rate in the United States will begin to decline between this summer and autumn. The secretary appreciated Japan's recent efforts to open its market wider for foreign imports but said the measures are still insufficient, the officials said.

After his meeting with the President, the Japanese minister visited the Pentagon and met Deputy Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci. Carlucci appreciated Japan's defense expansion efforts and added he hoped Japan will continue to take due responsibility and play an appropriate role in world affairs, the officials said. Sakurauchi is scheduled to meet Secretary of State Haig and congressional leaders Tuesday.

RESULTS OF NHK OPINION POLL ON DEFENSE SPENDING

OW221451 Tokyo NHK Television Network in Japanese 1000 GMT 22 Mar 82

[Text] An opinion poll conducted by NHK indicates growing opposition among the people to an expansion of the nation's defense capabilities with more than half of those polled stating that defense spending should be kept below the 1-percent level of GNP -- gross national product.

NHK has been conducting public opinion surveys on living and political conditions twice a year. The latest survey was held on 6 and 7 March, polling 1,800 persons 20 years of age or older across the country. On the defense issue included in the survey, the first question was about the government's policy of limiting the nation's defense spending within 1 percent of GNP. Fifty-five percent demanded that the government firmly maintain its policy, stating that defense spending should be kept below 1 percent of GNP under all circumstances or that it should be drastically reduced. On the other hand, approximately 25 percent approved the defense spending exceeding 1 percent of GNP. Notable was the fact that support for greater defense spending increased among older men while support decreased among older women.

On questions dealing with the defense capabilities of the Self-Defense Forces, an overwhelming percentage of those polled -- approximately 60 percent -- answered that they should be kept at the present level, while 14 percent advocated an expansion and buildup. A comparison with similar polls since May 1980 indicates a trend urging a curb on arguments for a defense buildup.

On questions dealing with the special treatment given to defense in the fiscal 1982 budget, approximately 49 percent approved of the special treatment -- 39 percent of those polled said that it cannot be helped and 10 percent said that it was a matter of course. On the other hand, 30 percent indicated their opposition to the special treatment.

Answers to questions on disarmament and nuclear weapons also indicated a similar trend. This trend appears to reflect the serious concern among the people about nuclear war and the arms race as tension heightens between the East and the West and between the United States and the Soviet Union. This trend also indicates that if the government should attempt to reconsider its present spending policy in connection with the upcoming 5-year defense buildup program, it will inevitably encounter strong opposition from public opinion.

GOVERNMENT URGED TO GRANT VISAS TO DPRK GROUP

OW171135 Tokyo KYODO in English 0855 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Tokyo, March 17 (KYODO) -- A group of dietmen Wednesday asked the government again to promptly issue entry visas for a North Korean delegation wishing to visit Japan to negotiate extension of a two-year provisional fishery agreement before it expires in June. Chuji Kuno, Liberal-Democrat chairman of the Dietmen's League for Promotion of Japan-(North) Korea Friendship, and other league members made the request to Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Miyazawa.

Miyazawa said the government would study the request. Japan has no diplomatic relations with North Korea. The dietmen's group made a similar request last week. The Foreign Ministry is reluctant to issue the entry visas for the North Koreans at this time when Japan is in negotiation with South Korea on Seoul's request for economic aid.

North Korea had proposed to send a mission led by Hyong Chun-kuk, deputy chairman of the Korean Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, for talks on extension of the fishery agreement. In view of Japan's reluctance, North Korea told the dietmen's group through the pro-Pyongyang General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongnyon) that it would not submit a list of mission members before Japan made its attitude clear.

When the provisional fishery agreement expires at the end of June and is not extended, Japanese fishermen will no longer be permitted to catch cuttlefish in North Korea's 200-nautical-mile sea zone in the coming season.



NODONG SINMUN CALLS WEINBERGER TRIP 'WAR JUNKET'

SK230422 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2345 GMT 22 Mar 82

[NODONG SINMUN 23 March commentary: "Dangerous Trip"]

[Text] According to foreign press reports, U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger plans to visit South Korea and Japan in late March for approximately 10 days. During this period, Weinberger is scheduled to attend the 14th South Korea-U.S. annual Security Consultative Meeting [SCM] to be held in Seoul on 30-31 March and the Japan-U.S. annual SCM to be held in Tokyo on 25-28 March, the reports said.

Reports say that the annual South Korea-U.S. SCM will discuss the modernization program of the U.S. forces occupying South Korea and the puppet army and other military problems pending between the United States and the puppets, and that the annual Japan-U.S. SCM will discuss the international military situation, an increase in the military spending of Japan and the buildup of Japan's armed forces. Reports also say that the Fourth South Korea-U.S. Military Committee Conference, with the participation of chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States and the puppet clique, will be convened in Seoul on 29 March and will map out strategic guidelines for the South Korea-U.S. Combined Forces Command.

For Weinberger, the planner and executor of the U.S. policy of war, to sneak into South Korea and Japan to discuss military problems at a time when the U.S. imperialists are frantic in preparations of a new war in South Korea, Japan and other areas of the Far East is a very ominous thing. Therefore, our people and the peace-loving people of the world cannot but to pay keen attention to this. As has been shown by history, visits by high-ranking U.S. officials and military bosses to South Korea, in particular, have had grave consequences for peace in Korea and its peaceful reunification. It is clear that the planned visit of Weinberger to South Korea will not be an exception to this.

The "Team Spirit 1982" war exercise, an extremely provocative military exercise against our republic, is now being staged in South Korea. This war exercise is mobilizing the U.S. forces stationed in South Korea, the puppet army, U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine units from the U.S. mainland and military bases in the Pacific -- totalling more than 160,000 men -- and various sophisticated lethal weapons and equipment.

In light of its scale, content, characteristics and the equipment it is mobilizing, the "Team Spirit 1982" war exercise is not merely a repeat of the usual military exercises conducted in the past but a dangerous play with fire aimed at completing the preparations for a nuclear war and all-out war in Korea and for attacking us at any time. It is only too clear that Weinberger's visit to the battlefield, where bullets and shells are bursting, at the very time when huge armed forces are being concentrated in the area near the military demarcation line and when the "Team Spirit 1982" war racket has moved in earnest into an attack stage after completing its strategic mobility and preparatory stages is designed for on-the-spot inspection and direct command of the war exercise for northward invasion against our republic.

Weinberger's planned visit to South Korea is reminiscent of the visit by Dulles, a war merchant, who visited South Korea just prior to the outbreak of the war of aggression against Korea and endorsed the war provocation plan. It is also more clear evidence that the U.S. imperialists are running wild to continuously hold onto South Korea and, using it as a springboard, to implement an aggressive strategy against our republic. Based on this aggressive strategy against Korea, the U.S. imperialists are increasing their aggressive armed forces in South Korea and in the surrounding areas. The U.S. imperialists' deployment of new cruise missiles to the 7th Fleet, their reinforcement of large-scale U.S. forces in the Far East and their continuous introduction of new type fighter-bombers, close support planes and anti-aircraft missiles to South Korea are part of such military buildup schemes.

The Security Consultative Meeting between Weinberger and the puppets is to further accelerate the military buildup schemes for the implementation of the U.S. strategy of aggression against Korea. The Joint Military Committee Conference is to map out and issue an operational plan to execute this strategy.

Weinberger's planned visit to South Korea is also to hand over more lethal weapons to the Chon Tu-hwan military fascist clique, to inspire war hysteria and to drive the Chon Tu-hwan ring to the field of war against the nation as an assault unit. This is why the U.S. imperialists have transferred various types of weapons and operational equipment valued at several billion dollars to the puppets in recent years and why they plan the transfer of a huge amount of war materiel, including ammunition and equipment, valued at \$2 billion.

By doing this, the U.S. imperialists are threatening our republic with force and are attempting to push ahead with preparations for a war against the Korean people by further massing forces from the United States and the puppet army, around the Korean Peninsula. Weinberger's junket to South Korea is totally one for war and aggression; it is to accelerate preparations for a new war.

The Chon Tu-hwan ring is converting South Korea into a base to launch a new war, following the truculent war policy of the U.S. imperialists. It is also trying to realize its wild desire for long-term power under the patronage of the U.S. imperialists. For the military fascist elements to meet in Seoul with their masters for aggression and treachery is a vicious challenge to our fellow countrymen's aspirations for peaceful reunifications and is a new treason.

Weinberger is scheming to conspire with the Japanese Government at the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Meeting in Tokyo. This is aimed at waging a new war. It is reported that he will ask Japan to increase military expenditures and beef up the military capabilities of the Self-Defense Forces. It goes without saying that this is aimed at dragging the Japanese reactionaries into the U.S. strategy in the Far East and Asia by accelerating the militarization of Japan and strengthening the U.S.-Japan security system. Furthermore, considering that his junket to Japan has been planned shortly after the United States and Japan entered upon the study of an emergency on the Korean Peninsula, the U.S.-Japan SCM, which plays an important role in accelerating the U.S. imperialists' preparations for a new war on the Korean Peninsula, will be a meeting to frame a concrete plan to sue Japan as a base for aggression and to throw the Japanese Self-Defense Forces into a new war.

Every fact shows that the U.S. defense secretary's junket will result in straining the situation on the Korean Peninsula, threatening peace and increasing the danger of a new war. This is an aggressive crime running counter to the aspirations of the world's peace-lovers and the demand of times, thus further heightening the people's anti-U.S. sentiment. Babbling about the non-existent threat from the North, the U.S. imperialists are conducting propaganda that their military buildup contributes to maintaining peace in the Far East. This is like a thief crying: "Stop thief!" and is a fraudulent trick to mislead public opinion. If the U.S. imperialists believe that they can realize their wild desire for aggression in Korea by threatening anyone with force, this is fantasy and will expose their bellicose nature to the world, thus accelerating their isolation from the world peoples.

The U.S. imperialists should stop maneuvers to prepare for a war against the Korean people, withdraw the U.S. forces and their lethal weapons from South Korea and put an end to their interference in Korea forever. The puppet Chon Tu-hwan should stop the disgraceful treachery against the nation and immediately step down from power.

VRPR SAYS MASSES SHOULD PROTECT PUSAN ARSONISTS

SK230019 (Clandestine) Voice of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in Korean to South Korea 1000 GMT 22 Mar 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Mobilizing the army and police, the Chon Tu-hwan clique is making a wholesale roundup racket in Pusan and all over Seoul in connection with the incident of arson at the Pusan American Cultural Center.

The Chon Tu-hwan military fascist clique is arresting innocent people at random and summarily trying them, kicking up the row of wholesale crackdown and roundup rackets everywhere -- including downtown, at railway stations, and at cross-country bus terminals -- by mobilizing some 12,000 police, both uniformed and plain-clothes, with reinforcements from the military. On the pretext of searching for criminals, it is running amok with a house-to-house search by mobilizing ward heads, tong heads and even members of the Civil Defense Corps. In Pusan, it is waging fanatical repression of the citizens, holding the March meeting of the neighborhood association ahead of schedule on 22 March.

As you know, setting fire to the American Cultural Center in Pusan was an explosion of rancor and indignation pent up for a long period in our hearts against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, an eruption of anti-American sentiments. This is stern punishment of the U.S. aggressors, who are disturbing peace and the peaceful reunification of the Korean Peninsula, suppressing the forces calling for democracy and reunification while adhering to maneuvers for war and the nation's permanent division and violating the human rights. It was an extremely just and patriotic act reflecting our masses' will and demand.

Nevertheless, the Chon Tu-hwan clique, mobilizing tens of thousands of military and police, kicked up the row of a wholesale crackdown and roundup campaign against our masses in Pusan and Seoul on the pretext of searching for the criminals. This is indeed an antipopular and antinational crime clearly showing the clique's nature and color as a pro-U.S. flunkeyist nation seller.

The Chon Tu-hwan clique is the butcher of the nation which cruelly massacred the Kwangju citizens calling for democracy and reunification in order to realize its long-term power. Seeking its own pleasure and wealth by carrying the U.S. masters on its back, it stained the land of Kwangju with the blood of fellow countrymen. The Chon Tu-hwan clique is a bloodsucker and warmonger running amok with aggression and northward invasion at the instigation of the United States. It is also vicious splittist.

The Chon Tu-hwan clique, the cursed flunkeyist nation-selling group, has held its tongue in the face of all kinds of atrocities and violence committed by U.S. troops occupying South Korea -- the cause of our masses' misfortunes and sufferings. However, it became enraged at the fire at the American Cultural Center in Pusan. This clearly shows what a filthy pro-U.S. stooge it is.

The fact that the Pusan American Cultural Center was set ablaze and that antigovernment and anti-U.S. leaflets reading "America should leave this land!" were scattered at the site of fire is a logical result of the colonial rule of the United States over South Korea. Nevertheless, the Chon Tu-hwan clique is fanatically repressing the people while flattering the U.S. masters. This is indeed an intolerable crime. The Chon Tu-hwan clique should immediately discontinue antipopular acts, such as suppressing the patriotic masses and following outside forces.

The masses from all walks of life should actively protect the patriots from the Chon Tu-hwan clique's barbarous oppression and guarantee their security. This is a duty and principle of the people who love the country and the people and who hope for democracy and reunification. Our masses will, by no means, tolerate the Chon Tu-hwan clique's vicious repression. They will crush the U.S. colonial rule by actively waging the anti-U.S. and antigovernment struggle and bury the Chon Tu-hwan military fascist regime.

SOUTH STUDENTS SAID TO PLAN FOR 'DECISIVE MOMENT'

SK131045 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1014 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] Pyongyang, March 13 (KCNA) -- A recent issue of "NEW KOREA TIMES," a Koreans' paper published in Canada, carried an article titled "Rapid Increase of Underground Scientific Organisations of South Korean Students: Student Movement Enters New Phase."

The paper says: According to an information from an organisation of student movement of South Korea, underground scientific organisations are rapidly expanding among students, becoming widely prevalent as a new form of student movement, in the three-month long winter vacation.

The spread of this movement is mainly motivated by the urge to find the crux of the problem through scientific studies and expand the cell organisations in order to successfully go over to an anti-fascist movement at a decisive moment [kyolchongjok sungan].

These underground study groups are secret associations, each formed with 5 to 10 students, which are called in ciphers and whose members read scientific books and discuss South Korean problems, changing date and place.

The subjects of their studies are "theory of the development of history," "capitalist economy," "theory of economy of underdeveloped countries," "history of the South Korean people's movement," "history around the liberation" and so forth. The key point of their discussion is the reunification problem in which they find the tragedy of South Korea in North-South division and "the theory of dependence" regarding the political and economic ruin of South Korea as a course of exploitation by world capitalism.

Through their meetings, they study and discuss historic, political and economic problems concerning the relations between the United States and the Third World. This trend is the first of its kind to be observed among South Korean students since June 25, 1950.

PYONGYANG REPORTS ON HAVANA NONALIGNED MEETING

SK211021 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 0700 GMT 18 Mar 82

[Text] The fourth meeting of coordinating countries [as heard] concerning all fields of nonalignment was held recently in Havana, capital of Cuba, to implement the action program for economic cooperation among the nonaligned nations. Participating in the meeting were delegates and delegations of some 50 countries and 6 international organizations, including our country's delegation.

The meeting discussed such important matters as the struggle to establish a fairer international economic order, opposition to monopoly capital and matters of cooperation among the developing countries in the field of industry, agriculture, science, technology, health and peaceful use of nuclear energy. Participants at the meeting also discussed measures to counter pressures from foreign capital and plundering activities of imperialist multinational companies and ways to deal with such things.

Speakers at the meeting noted that the nonaligned nations should maintain their sovereignty and preserve their natural resources by nationalizing foreign monopoly companies. They also stressed that nonaligned nations should strengthen unity and diversified cooperation in order to deal with the plundering activities of the multinational companies.

The document summing up discussions at the meeting notes that the nonaligned nations should strongly struggle to establish better international relationships.



REPORTAGE ON PREMIER YI CHONG-OK'S VISIT TO CUBA

## Greeted at Havana Airport

SK200406 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2200 GMT 19 Mar 82

[Text] A party and government delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by Comrade Yi Chong-ok, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and premier of the Administration Council, arrived in Havana on March 17 for an official goodwill visit to Cuba, according to a report.

The national flags of our country and Cuba were flying on the flagpoles at the airport. The delegation was met at the airport by Raul Castro, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, first vice president of the Council of State of Cuba and first vice president of the Council of Ministers; Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, vice president of the Council of State and vice president of the Council of Ministers; Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, member of the Council of State and vice president of the Council of Ministers; Antonio Perez, alternate member of the Political Bureau and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party; Jesus Montane, alternate member of the Political Bureau, member of the Secretariat and director of the International Department of the Central Committee of the party; Jose Ramon Fernandez, vice president of the Council of Ministers and minister of education; Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs; and other personages concerned and a large crowd of people. Also present there were DPRK Ambassador to Cuba, Yi In-chon and officials of his embassy and diplomatic envoys of various countries in Havana. A welcome function was held at the airport. The national anthems of our country and Cuba were played and a 21-gun salute boomed.

Head of the delegation Comrade Yi Chong-ok, in company with Comrade Raul Castro, reviewed a guard of honor. The head of the delegation issued an arrival statement at the airport. He said: The Korean and Cuban peoples are class comrades in arms and brothers who forged the firm bonds of friendship in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism and for the victory of the cause of socialism and have consistently consolidated and developed them.

In particular, the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries are developing favorably with each passing day on the basis of the intimacy sealed long ago between the great leader of our people Comrade Kim Il-song and the supreme leader of the Cuban revolution Comrade Fidel Castro. Our people are satisfied with the continued, excellent development of the friendly and cooperative relations with the Cuban people and believe that these relations will further expand and develop in the future through the struggle for their common goal.

He continued: It is our great pleasure to meet with the courageous Cuban people who are splendidly building a socialist country in the face of the U.S. imperialists and to see the successes they have attained in the struggle to implement the decisions adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Upholding the programmatic tasks set forth by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song at the Sixth KWP Congress and in his new year's address, the Korean people are vigorously struggling to accelerate the country's socialist construction and to expedite the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland under the wise leadership of the glorious party center.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I extend deep thanks to the Communist Party of Cuba, its government and people for fully supporting our people's just struggle to force the U.S. imperialists to withdraw their forces from South Korea and to reunify the fatherland.

## Meets Fidel Castro 18 Mar

SK210939 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0830 GMT 21 Mar 82

[Text] Pyongyang, March 21 (KCNA) -- Comrade Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State and president of the Council of Ministers, met on March 18 in Havana the DPRK party and government delegation headed by Comrade Yi Chong-ok, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and premier of the Administration Council, according to a report. Comrade Yi Chong-ok conveyed a personal letter and cordial regards of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song to Comrade Fidel Castro.

First Secretary Fidel Castro expressed deep thanks for this and asked the head of the delegation to convey his warm wishes for good health and long life to the great leader. Referring to the question of Korean reunification, the first secretary said that the proposal for Korean reunification advanced by the great leader at the Sixth Congress of the Workers Party of Korea was most just and the Cuban party and government fully supported it.

Expressing deep satisfaction with the very excellent development of the friendly and cooperative relations between the two parties, two countries and two peoples, the first secretary stressed that he would make positive efforts to further consolidate and develop them.

The conversation proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. Present on the occasion were the members of the party and government delegation of our country and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, vice-president of the Council of State and vice-president of the Council of Ministers, and Jesus Montane, alternate member of the political bureau, member of the Secretariat and director of the International Department of the CPC Central Committee.

## Cuban Coverage of Visit

For Havana radio coverage of the visit to Cuba of the DPRK Government and party delegation led by Premier Yi Chong-ok, including his meeting with President Fidel Castro, see the Cuba section of the Latin America DAILY REPORT for 18 March and subsequent issues.

YIM CHUN-CHU ARTICLE EXTOLS KIM IL-SONG

SK160721 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2222 GMT 15 Mar 82

[NODONG SINMUN 16 March special article: "The Respected and Beloved Comrade Kim Il-song Is the Great Leader Who Has Glorified Our People as a Prestigious and Independent Nation"-- KCNA press review identified Yim Chun-chu as author of article]

[Text] Today, our people live in the era of endless national prosperity. Never has our nation in its long 5,000-year history been more powerful and glorious than it is today.

The history of the prosperity of our nation is synonymous with the history of the resplendent revolutionary struggle of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song. The course which the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song covered in the storms of the prolonged severe revolutionary struggle has been embroidered with an epic about the peerless patriot and the great national hero.

Thanks to the leadership of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song, the future of our nation is endlessly bright and the happiness of the coming generations is firmly guaranteed. To our people, nothing is prouder and more prestigious than having the respected and beloved Comrade Kim Il-song as the great leader.

1) The respected and beloved Comrade Kim Il-song is the great leader who has brought about a fundamental change in the position and situation of our nation.

Throughout its long history, our people have suffered national trials which defy description. However, the present situation of our nation is entirely different.



The two contrasting aspects of the history of our people prove the precious truth that the position and situation of a nation entirely depend on the leadership of a leader.

It was a historic event which set a new chapter in the history of the nation that our people in those early days received the respected and beloved Comrade Kim Il-song as the great leader and started to hold him in high esteem. The course which we have covered since then is a proud one during which the position of our nation has reached its culmination and a brilliant path has been pioneered for the solution of the national questions of our times.

What are beyond description are the immortal achievements which the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has won in the history of the nation along the distant and rugged path. The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song has made our people, who suffered maltreatment and humiliation by others, a proud, most prestigious independent people. This is the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song's great contribution to the development of the national history.

To liberate people from subjugation and oppression and to make them an independent people is a basic trend of our times and a guarantee for national independence and prosperity. Our is a time of independence.

Every nation must shape and pioneer its own destiny by itself. The people who live without independence and under the domination and subjugation of another cannot enjoy prestige and honor and achieve prosperity and growth. In changing the position and situation of a nation, nothing is more important than taking the road of independence.

The path along which the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song has shaped the destiny of our nation is embroidered with the immortal exploits that all kinds of national oppression and subjugation were opposed, sovereignty and independence were defended, the century-long backwardness and poverty were liquidated, and the progress and civilization were brought about.

The realization of the cause of national liberation by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song was a new milestone effecting a new turn in ending the protracted history of national ordeal and developing our people into an independent one. The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song taught: By leading the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle to victory the Korean communists regained the national sovereignty of which they had been by the Japanese imperialists, achieved the independence of the country and thus opened a wide road toward the building of a new society.

The world was under the control of imperialists powers in the period from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. As a result, the realization of national liberation was a supreme historic task of people under colonial rule in pioneering their fate. At the time when the national ordeal reached a climax and the imperialist powers' plundering of oppressed people was unprecedentedly unscrupulous, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song embarked on the road of fatherland liberation, holding aloft the banner of *chuche*. At that time, the colonial repression by the Japanese imperialists was at its worst; the whole country was submerged in a sea of blood and the people were living under extreme hardship. All situations and circumstances showed that the fate of the nation could not be saved by such previous ways of struggle as just sitting and lamenting over fate and begging others for independence.

Just at that period the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song elucidated a totally new way of struggle -- in other words, a unique way for winning independence through our people's own armed struggle. Because of this new way of struggle, the flames of struggle to carry out the cause of national liberation from colonialism under the principle of independence flared up for the first time in our history. The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song defeated the Japanese imperialists by standing at the front of the arduous anti-Japanese struggle for some 20 years and achieved the cause of national liberation. This was a great event which brought a new spring of freedom and democracy to this land and which introduced the first struggle by an independent nation to a colony in the Far East.

If the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song had not organized and led the heroic anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, breaking through all sorts of deadlines and difficulties, during the dark period of Japanese imperialist rule, our nation would have disappeared from the map of the world forever.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song is indeed the great benefactor of national revival who rescued our people from a crisis. The heyday of great national prosperity unfolded by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song is another great contribution he has made to the history of independent development of our nation. The fundamental change in the status and situation of a nation is made practically through growth and prosperity. The people who have failed to liquidate backwardness, poverty, illiteracy and barbarity and to achieve prosperity cannot achieve national equality or enjoy high pride and dignity as a nation.

In our country, the victory in the revolutionary struggle against Japan unfolded a new history of changing our nation from a subjugated nation to an independent nation whereas the almost 40 years of creation and construction since liberation are a glorious chronicle which has brought about a new era of national prosperity. This growth and prosperity of our nation is a miracle of the century, is a heroic epic which has made a contemptuously treated and oppressed nation a most powerful nation and brought overall improvement and development in all fields of social life. History has not witnessed as yet another great leader who has so greatly changed the status and situation of a nation in a short period of only scores of years.

The course on which the heyday of national prosperity has been unfolded on the land of our fatherland was not smooth. Korea was the synonym for backwardness and poverty. Although the people greeted liberation, our fatherland was divided; we suffered a shortage of funds and national cadres; we had no experience in building a new society. Under the difficult circumstances in which we were compelled to begin all our works from scratch, it was beyond imagination to enact the great upsurge of national prosperity. The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song was the only leader capable of accomplishing the new weighty task assigned the people.

Full of resources, an ironclad will and organizational skill, which he developed in annihilating the aggressors and in saving the people in the anti-Japanese struggle period, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song led to victory the new historic advance toward national prosperity. The magnificent plan for national prosperity set forth by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song is to eliminate completely colonial legacies and to found a most powerful, independent socialist country.

To achieve true national prosperity after freeing themselves from imperialist subjugation, the people should advance toward the road of socialism and found an independent country. The road to capitalism is one toward subjugation and downfall. Only the road to socialism is one for independence and prosperity. The line for building an independent socialist country delineated by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song is the most just course for protecting the already achieved independence of the people and for achieving the overall enlightenment and development of the people in all sectors, including the political, economic, cultural and military sectors.

Development devoid of the course for thoroughgoing independence is an empty word. The people who follow the course of reliance on foreign forces will be unable to avoid domination and subjugation by others. Because our people were powerless and backward in the past, they were forced to suffer the status of colonial slavery because of the Japanese imperialists.

With a firm resolve to turn our people into a developed and powerful people to prevent them from being humiliated by others, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song organized and led all the people to build a new, wealthy and powerful fatherland.

Over scores of years since the time when he embarked on the road of national foundation, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song devoted all his energy to founding an independent, self-reliant and self-defending powerful socialist country. As a result, our people was provided with a firm foundation for lasting prosperity.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song has always been deeply interested in fully developing the superior talent of the people in achieving prosperity for the country. Developing the inherently superior talent of the people is an important requirement for developing the people. A people can achieve national prosperity and contribute to the world revolution and to developing the culture of mankind by correctly carrying out the revolution and construction in their own country and by developing their ethnic traits. Thus, they can demonstrate their national pride.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has correctly developed the superior tradition of our people to meet the trend of a new era. In addition, he has helped them set a new, excellent example in all sectors. Thus, our people have contributed to enriching the treasure chest of mankind's culture. Thanks to the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's correct policy and wise leadership, our national language has developed into a more beautiful, rich cultural language; the distorted history of our country has been corrected based on a chuche stand; and the heyday of chuche art has been ushered in with a national form and a socialist content.

In the era of the KWP led by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, our people, who were once deprived of their names and suffered from illiteracy, have fully developed their wisdom and talent and demonstrated their status as a most noble and civilized people. In the long history of the people, there has never been another era in which our people were so powerful and prosperous as today. Gone is the miserable status of our people who, bound to the iron shackles of slavery, were humiliated and backward.

This whole history in which the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song completely changed the status and situation of the nation was a rewarding course which achieved our people's ideological and spiritual liberation from old ideology destroying the principle of national independence. For the people to have a high sense of independence while getting rid of old ideologies of national nihilism and flunkeyism is a basic requirement in becoming an independent nation. When the people become slaves of other people ideologically and spiritually, they cannot escape the status of colonial subjugation nor can they defend independence with their own efforts and achieve their prosperity. People who have a high sense of independence are invincible, but those who do not are enervated and are inclined to be in subjection to others.

Independent development of a nation is a course on which the nation hews its way by itself. The fact that our nation is becoming a dignified nation which treasures independence and sovereignty, not subjugation and subserviency, is the outcome of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song's spiritual delivery of our people from the shackles of flunkeyism. For a long time flunkeyism had caused much harm to our nation's independent development and revolution and, in the end, led the nation to ruin.

It was the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song who saved the Korean people when they were doomed to become slaves. Always holding high the banner of national independence -- the banner of the establishment of chuche, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song provided our people with confidence that they are able to hew their own way by themselves. This was the powerful driving force that propelled our people to independence and prosperity.

Today our people are a nation with a high sense of independence. They do not tolerate anyone who would violate their national independence and dignity. They take great pride in being Korean and in carrying out the revolution in Korea. Dependence on foreign forces -- the idea of relying on others at the expense of national pride -- has no place in our people's noble spiritual world.

With all the people cherishing the spirit of national independence, our nation was able to hew its own way. Thus -- the change that took place in our people's ideological and spiritual arena -- is an incomparably precious success scored in the annals of our nation's independent development. Our people, who once were most wretched, have become an independent nation so powerful and dignified that no one can now make light of it. This great achievement of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song, who has devoted himself to bringing about a fundamental change in the status and position of the nation, will be remembered for generations to come.

2. The history of our nation enjoying boundless prosperity on its path is a glorious history which can be created only by the most outstanding leader.

It is not easy to deliver a nation from a crisis and make it prosperous and dignified. This cause required a serious struggle against all schemes that obstruct the nation's independent development and a vast plan designed to do away with centuries-old backwardness and poverty. This cause -- a sacred cause -- can be achieved only by a great leader who unites the nation and leads it to victory.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song is a man of great ideals, tested leadership and noble virtues -- qualities that are needed to lead the nation to the road of independence. Without the wise leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, we cannot think of the fact that difficult and important problems related to the destiny of our nation are being precisely solved.

All the honor and superiority of the Korean nation and a bright future for the nation are linked to the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song. The respected leader's name is the symbol of our nation's honor and dignity and the greatness of the leader is the fountain of the might of our nation.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song is the patriot of the century who has devoted his life to the country and the people with ardent patriotism. The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: What we are now doing is for our people. There is no work which does not meet the interests of the people. The epithet, patriot of the century, reflects all the people's endless reverence for and trust in the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song, who has spared no arduous effort and devoted his life only to the independent development of the country and the people. Born in a traditionally patriotic family, regarding the hardships suffered by the people as his own and having fostered the warm love for the fatherland, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song, braving all difficulties and trials over a long period, has devoted everything to the country and the people. Patriotism cherished by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has developed the sense of complete responsibility for the destiny of his fatherland and people and the farsighted plan for the prosperity and happiness of posterity, generation after generation. The firm principle of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song's meditation and activities has stemmed from this noble patriotism.

All works planned and carried out by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song are for the interest, prosperity, dignity and honor of our people. The great leader has helped build communism to meet the situation in Korea and the desire of our people. It has been a great joy for him to see the happiness and prosperity of the people. The respected and beloved leader's warm patriotism has helped our people conserve and love even a single tree and blade of grass in the fatherland, have passion for the revolution in their country and firmly safeguard the dignity and sovereignty of the people. With burning love for the fatherland and with a lofty sense of responsibility for the destiny of the people, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song has always personally coped with crises for the people since the period of the bloody anti-Japanese struggle and has devoted all his energy to the cause of the country and the people.

The patriotism cherished by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song is totally for the masses of the working people -- the majority of the people. This patriotism is closely linked to proletarian internationalism.



Proceeding from this noble patriotism, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song has regarded the interests of the masses of the working people as a pivot in formulating even a single line and policy. He has solved all questions in the interests of the class and the people. As a result, all the respected and beloved leader's lines and policies have assumed an (exciting) nature of meeting the vital demand of all the people.

Because the respected and beloved leader has always encouraged our people to strengthen friendship and solidarity with the world's people and to develop international support and solidarity while loving their country, they have become a dignified people who actively contribute to developing the world revolution.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song is a great leader who, embracing all the people in his bosom with an endlessly magnanimous heart, has led them to the road of independence. To advance toward the road of independence, the people should firmly unite with a single desire. National unity is the road to independence and prosperity. Division is the road to subjugation and national ruin. The unity of the people is the source of national might. Although a people might be backward and few, they have nothing to fear if they unite. They can become a powerful people to firmly defend independence.

Originally, our people had the capacity for united action because they have lived in a single national territory for a long time, maintaining a homogeneous lineage. However, this does not mean that the unity of the people have been automatically and easily achieved in our country. Within the homogeneous people has existed people who possess different ideas, political views and religious beliefs and the classes and social circles which have different living circumstances. It is by no means easy to help these people, classes and social circles firmly unite with a single desire and aim. In particular, it was not easy to make all the people unite under circumstances in our country which was placed under colonial subjugation in the past and in which different ideas and systems dominate two areas.

The only leader who has accomplished this significant historic cause of our country is the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song. To achieve national unity and firmly defend it is a basic principle given priority by him in the struggle for the independence and prosperity of the nation. Even when the nationalists and those leading the communist movement in its incipient stage were engaged in a factional struggle for domination without paying attention to the nation's fate or the revolution, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song ardently struggled to achieve national harmony, ignoring his personal peril. It is his firm and consistent policy for national unity to attach great importance to the concept of the nation, transcending ideology, political views and religious beliefs.

Thanks to such a just policy and positive struggle by the respected and beloved leader, a brilliant example of forming a united national front under the banner of the fatherland liberation was created even in the dark period of the Japanese imperialist rule.

Following liberation, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song made all the people unite with one mind for building a new Korea by inducing the physically strong to help build a new Korea with their physical strength, the wealthy people with their riches and intellectuals with their knowledge. Even now, he says the most important policy for reunification of the fatherland is to achieve a great national front for reunification through national unity. His is, indeed, the bosom of great national unity, which makes the whole nation unite with a common purpose.

The respected and beloved leader always trusts and leads those who are determined to follow the honest road as directed by their national conscience, no matter what political view they may hold or what crimes they may have committed before the nation, and does not hold them to account for their past.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song's great confidence in the people and his generosity are the great power which converts even the staunchest anticommunists to work for the fatherland and people. Without the generosity of the respected and beloved leader, we could not conceive of the numerous intellectuals and patriots who came into the bosom of the republic by crossing the death lines in the wake of national liberation or of the unprecedented national transformation from capitalism to socialism.

Thanks to the leadership of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song, who always elucidates the future of the nation and who always regards matters related to the future of the nation as a just cause, our people are now uniting and struggling to achieve the national cause, as they did in the past. Our people, who were mistreated and despised in the past, have created a glorious history of the nation under the wise leadership of the respected and beloved leader. This history has shown us a precious truth that a nation's dignity, honor, prosperity and strength entirely depend on the greatness and wisdom of the leader. In this very precious truth lie the greatest pride and honor of our people who have advanced along the road of independence.

3. A more brilliant prospect is open for our people who have long traversed the road of independence, sovereignty and prosperity.

Our people's bright future stems from the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song who is energetically leading our people along the road of independence. The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, who has made immortal contributions to the development of national history through storms of all sorts ever since he took the road of revolution, is now leading the sacred struggle to achieve greater prosperity for the nation and to defend the nation's independence and sovereignty.

The lines and policies continuously developed by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song comprise grand programs to defend the nation's sovereignty, expedite national reunification and guarantee happiness for ages to come. Only when we follow the road led by the leader, upholding the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song, can we brilliantly pioneer the future destiny of our nation. The nation's bright future and eternal prosperity lie in upholding the leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song. This is the firm belief that our nation has deeply cherished since it first upheld the leader and the steel-like will that it has consolidated through practical experiences over a long time.

No nation is more ardent and firm in upholding its leader. Loyalty to the leader is the nucleus of the Korean people's national spirit. It is also the driving force which enables our nation to advance along the road of independence. With the energetic leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, our nation is seething with a firm resolve to vigorously advance, upholding the leader forever. This lofty trait of our people is highly manifested in struggling, deeply cherishing a high national pride -- implementing the revolution with the respected and beloved Comrade Kim Il-song as their leader.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song taught: Such a national pride is very precious in the people's liberation struggle. A nation without national pride and confidence will be ruined; a nation with them is invincible. National pride and confidence are important characteristics of the independent nation.

National pride and confidence are cemented only by upholding a great leader. A leader [suryong] is the nation's supreme representative and the only leader [yongdoja] who leads the nation, taking responsibility for the nation's destiny. Therefore, nothing makes the people enjoy greater national pride and confidence than upholding a great leader. The respected and beloved Comrade Kim Il-song is the great leader who has created the chuche idea, opened a new era of independence and registered immortal achievements before the fatherland and history.



By holding the respected and beloved Comrade Kim Il-song in high esteem, our people have made their appearance in the international arena, competing with small and big countries, and our nation is enjoying high praise from the world's people as the chuche fatherland and a model country of socialism.

Without the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, we cannot talk about the fact our nation has nurtured a heroic people fearing no enemies and that the international prestige of the republic is continuously growing and about our nation's bright future. The great leader is the genuine sun of Korea and our nation's glory. No people are more proud and happier than ours, who were born in and are implementing the revolution in the chuche Korea led by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song who is endlessly revered and trusted by the world's people. For this reason, our people wholeheartedly admire and ardently respect the respected and beloved leader. Furthermore, this noble sentiment is growing more with each passing day.

Our nation's unanimous will is to brilliantly implement the leader's plans, firmly uniting around the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song. The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song, who has been unanimously upheld by the entire nation since the first days when he embarked on the road of the revolution due to his qualification as an outstanding leader and his lofty traits, is the center of national unity.

It is our proud tradition to have pioneered the nation's destiny, firmly united around the leader as ever. This national rank has been joined not only by communists, but by those who love the country and are concerned over the nation's future, irrespective of their political view, religion, knowledge and wealth. Since our nation firmly united under the unitary leadership, it was able to liberate the fatherland by itself and has safeguarded the nation's dignity and sovereignty.

Only when all Korean compatriots in the North, South and abroad unite in a front for national reunification, transcending ideology, system, faction and political view, can they defend the national sovereignty generation after generation without repeating the miserable history of a homeless race.

The grand program unfolded by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song reflects the unanimous aspiration and desire of the entire nation and illuminates the road along which the nation will advance. By upholding all lines and policies of the great leader, the Korean people will traverse the road of independence and prosper forever.

Thoroughly embodying the proposal for national reunification set forth by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song is an urgent task assigned to our people for our nation's independence and future destiny. In addition to the 36-year colonial rule by the Japanese imperialists, the South Korean people have been compelled to swallow the colonial slavery of the U.S. imperialists for 37 years. No Korean can tolerate this miserable situation. Saying that national reunification is the greatest gift to our nation, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song has worked for its realization. The proposal for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo [DCRK], which was set forth by the great leader at the Sixth KWP Congress, is the most just, reasonable and realistic program for national salvation and for ending the tragedy of national division. We should reunify the fatherland by founding the DCRK, achieving collaboration between the North and South. Thus, we will appear in the international arena with dignity and authority as an reunified independent country and erect a people's paradise where the entire nation can enjoy happiness.

We should reunify the fatherland without fail in this generation and establish national sovereignty throughout the country by continuously effecting upsurges in socialist construction and firmly consolidating the chuche revolutionary force. Then, we should develop our nation into an independent one which could never be toyed with by anyone.

Our nation, which the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has led to prosperity, is greeting a more rewarding era under the wise leadership of the KWP. With a tested leadership and positive activities, our party is leading the struggle to materialize all plans of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song along the road of victory. Thanks to the correct leadership of the invincible KWP, the future of our revolution and nation is more promising. This gives our people greater ambition for and faith in the nation's future. As long as the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song is in the van of our nation led by our party, our nation will advance along the road of independence under any adverse circumstances and endlessly prosper.

#### KCNA PRAISES LEADERSHIP OF PARTY CENTER

SK180012 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1508 GMT 17 Mar 82

["Fervor of Creation and Innovation Rush High Under Party's Guidance" -- KCNA headline:]

[Text] Pyongyang, March 17 (KCNA) -- A leaping advance previously unknown is being made and everything created on the highest level in all domains of the revolution and construction in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and there spreads an endless expanse of dazzling realities in which the worth of struggle and ecstasy of life are blooming into the optimism of the age.

It owes this to the party which is bringing into blossom the cause of chuche started by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song. It was the glorious party centre which unfolded the blueprints for completely changing the appearance of the capital of revolution, including those for the construction of the Changgwang Street in the centre of the city and the Munsu Street in east Pyongyang.

The party centre, which unfurls one great and original plan after another and leads the whole party and the entire people to their practice, is possessed of brilliant intelligence and mighty leadership whereby it fulfills hundreds of kinds of important and urgent tasks and looks far ahead to the future, a decade and a century henceforth while planning and designing and undertaking.

Under this leadership, so proud realities are constantly spread on this land in which the hot wind of the speed campaign is blowing a gale in economic construction and all fields of the party work, cultural construction and science and technology are coming into full blossom all at once along the road of unheard-of changes and creation, leap and development. But the characteristics of our realities are not confined to the unprecedented speed of advance.

Before liberation, a rather big department store called "Pyongyang Hwasin" was built in Pyongyang over a period of seven years and nine months. In mid-November 1980, builders of the capital blew up this building in accordance with a plan of the party. In a little more than one year since then there has risen up in its place a modern new department store 25 times the old one in size. This fact alone explains the deep meaning of what is called creation today.

This mettle of the Workers Party age asserted itself in the building of a recreation ground, too. A few years ago, functionaries received from the party centre a vast blueprint together with a task to build a fun fair in Mt. Taesong in Pyongyang. It was a bold and ambitious plan for building a fun fair of a whole set of facilities, not one or two kinds of them, for our children and working people, and for laying a track of 1,500 metres for a jet coaster, not minding that the world's longest was no more than 1,350 metres.

Revolutionary optimism prevails and joy and emotion of life are felt everywhere in Korea which is pulsating with struggle and feats, tremendous changes and miracles. On August 31 last year, there was an evening gathering of Pyongyang working people celebrating the successful conclusion of the symposium of non-aligned and other developing countries on increasing food and agricultural production.

The head of a foreign delegation said in exhilaration after dancing, mixed up with our working people, till the end of the gathering: "Your songs and dances have peculiar charm and mysterious strength. Singing those songs and dancing those dances, one feels the passion of youth course through his whole body overflowing with the volition of life, his heart beating with the thought of human dignity. No force on earth can bar the way of the Korean people who are working and advancing with such passion and spirit."

All this is the balmy spring season of revolution greeted and enjoyed by our people. It is the reality of Korea that, upholding the great party, she is dashing forward like the wind, developing a proud history of changes of the century, the passion of creation and innovation overflowing the whole land, and she is pulsating with happiness, overflowing with emotion of life and beating with the spirit and optimism of youth.

NEW ROMANIAN ENVOY ARRIVES IN PYONGYANG 22 MAR

SK221604 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1539 GMT 22 Mar 82

[Text] Pyongyang, March 22 (KCNA) -- Constantin Iftodi, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Romanian Socialist Republic to our country, arrived in Pyongyang on March 22 by plane.

CORRECTION TO WICKHAM'S CONGRESS TESTIMONY

The following correction should be made to the item headlined "NODONG SINMUN Flays Wickham's Congress Testimony," published in the 22 March DAILY REPORT:

On page D 5, the third paragraph, line four, should read: "...think it necessary to increase military spending, and talk big about their mighty strength and certain victory..." (adding dropped words).

PREMIER CALLS FOR EFFORTS TO ARREST ARSONISTS

SK230138 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 23 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] Prime Minister Yu Chang-sun yesterday called for intense efforts to apprehend those responsible for the fire at the American Cultural Center in Pusan last Thursday.

Presiding over a meeting attended by Deputy Prime Minister Kim Chun-song, Minister of Home Affairs So Chong-hwa, Minister of Justice Yi Chong-won, Minister of National Defense Chu Yong-pok and other department ministers, Yi said that all public servants involved should concentrate on apprehending the arsonists at the earliest possible date. Public cooperation should be fully utilized to expedite the efforts to arrest those responsible for the fire.

He instructed the minister of home affairs to mobilize as needed the Homeland Reserve Forces, Civil Defense Corps and the Pansanghoe (monthly neighborhood meeting) in the search for the arsonists. He also said that cooperation should be sought from schools of all levels, labor unions and organizations affiliated with the south city government. He stressed that security checks at the airports and seaports be increased.

Other officials who attended the meeting were Minister of Education Yi Kyu-ho, Minister of Commerce and Industry Su Suk-chun, Minister of Labor Affairs Kwon Chung-dong, Minister of Culture and Information Yi Kwang-pyo and Mayor of Seoul Pak Yong-su.

CHUNGANG ILBO SAYS U.S.-JAPAN RICE PACT 'INSULT'

SK190833 Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 18 Mar 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Lesson of the Alleged Rice Scandal"]

[Excerpts] The alleged rice import scandal was a model case in which the United States and Japan -- which are the richest countries in the world and, what is more, are our allies -- made the Korean rice market a target of their commercial bargains. Therefore, it gives us a great lesson to consider in our future negotiations with the United States and Japan on rice imports.

The United States and Japan concluded an agreement on grain exports in April 1980. According to this agreement, which will remain in force till 1983, Japan is allowed to export only 400,000 tons of rice produced in Japan to foreign countries, and to export only 40,000 tons of that to Korea annually. At the same time, Japan needs approval from the United States if it wants to export more.

Because of this preposterous agreement concluded between the two countries, in November 1980, when our country needed to import 2 million tons of rice from foreign countries, our government inevitably had to negotiate with the U.S. Government to purchase rice from Japan. At the same time, in an effort to get U.S. approval, our government had to import large amounts of U.S. Gulf Coast rice, which does not suit our tastes.

The U.S.-Japan grain agreement was concluded with the aim of exploiting the Korean rice market. Of course, the conclusion of the agreement was based on paragraph 2, article 16 of the regulations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT], which prohibits acts of dumping in international trade activities in order to guarantee orderly international trade. Giving in to the pressure of the powerful U.S. rice lobbyists, the U.S. Government concluded the U.S.-Japan grain agreement, which amounts to an insult to the Korean people, running counter to spirit of GATT and to the interests of Korea.

Rice produced in Japan suits our tastes. We can purchase the Japanese rice on credit on a long-term and low-interest basis, with repayment in 10 years with a 5-year grace period. The shipping expenses are cheaper and the transportation time shorter.

When it approved Japan's exports of 1 million tons of rice to Korea in 1980, the U.S. Agriculture Department, which always stands at the side of U.S. farmers and rice dealers, not only forcibly sold Gulf Coast rice and California rice to Korea at a high price but also attached a condition that the shipment of the 1 million tons of Japanese rice to Korea should be completed by August 1981. The Japanese rice shipping capability was only 100,000 tons a month. Because of this Japanese shipping capacity, despite the U.S. approval for the import of 1 million tons of rice from Japan, our government purchased only 670,000 tons of rice from Japan and had to purchase the remaining 330,000 tons from the United States.

We wonder what our diplomatic authorities and Agriculture Ministry did when such an unreasonable agreement was concluded. If our government had exposed the unreasonable aim of the U.S.-Japan agreement to the GATT and FAO when it was concluded and had staged a strong drive to block the agreement, today's controversy on rice would not have occurred and we could have imported rice under favorable conditions.

The government should not react nervously to the arrogance of rice dealers any longer and instead should make efforts to have the U.S.-Japan grain agreement, the source of today's controversy, abolished. The U.S.-Japan grain agreement, which is only in the interests of U.S. rice dealers, runs counter to the national interests of the United States and is not conducive to the security of northeast Asia. Our government should stress this point to the Washington authorities and to the U.S. press. Even though our security depends largely on the United States, we cannot accept this quasi-agreement which reminds us of the division of territory in the era of imperialism.

At a recent U.S. House Agricultural Subcommittee hearing on rice, Albrecht, deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, exposed the Connell Company's schemes to monopolize exports of rice to Korea. At the same time, the Agricultural Subcommittee concluded that the allegation of bribery is groundless. From now on, we should switch the debate on the alleged rice scandal to efforts for abolishing the U.S.-Japan grain agreement.

#### FIRMS SETTLE FOR AVERAGE 9.7-PERCENT WAGE HIKE

SK230154 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 23 Mar 82 p 8

[Text] Wage hikes for employees of the majority of workshops in the nation have been settled at an average of 9.7 percent, the lowest in the last 10 years, through government-pushed labor-management consultations, it was learned yesterday. According to the Labor Ministry, 90.1 percent or 3,760 of the total 4,176 enterprises with 100 or more employees have worked out new wage levels for this year so far under the ministry's strong guidance.

The average hike this year was lower by 7.6 percentage points than 17.3 percent last year, officials said. The annual wage hike during the 10 years since 1971 was 26.0 percent on average and the lowest during the period was 11.5 percent in 1973, they said.

They attributed the comparatively low wage hike this year to the "self-restraint" of both laborers and the management who had worked out the new wage levels in consideration of the inflation rate, labor productivity and the financial capability of each firm. They further said that the laborers had shown "readiness to share troubles with employers to tide over the current economic difficulties by accepting the low wage hike rate."

The ministry has urged enterprises since last year-end to work out new wage levels through autonomous labor-management consultations and to set the hike rate at a "one-digit figure." Officials said that the ministry would make all-out efforts to provide laborers with the maximum actual wages in spite of the slight increase in nominal wages. As part of such efforts, the ministry will encourage employers to provide welfare measures including the operation of discount stores at workshops, they said. The highest salary increase among local firms was registered at 30 percent by the Shinil Integrated Services Co. with 492 employees, according to the ministry.



HUN SEN DISCUSSES WHITE BOOK ON THAI HOSTILITIES

BK700800 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1230 GMT 19 Mar 82

[Text] At 1500 on 19 March a press conference to introduce a white book on Thailand's hostile policy against the PRK was held at Vat Phnum Hotel in the presence of Comrade Hun Sen, member of the KPRP Central Committee Political Bureau, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs. Attending were representatives of the embassies of friendly socialist countries accredited to the PRK and many local and foreign reporters. Among the foreign correspondents were those representing VNA, TASS, U.S., Japanese and British newspapers, and a number of international organizations.

During the press conference, Comrade Hun Sen informed local and foreign opinion about the hostilities perpetrated by Thailand against the PRK. He said in full as follows:

[Begin recording] The recent period is full of evidence of continuing Thai hostilities and provocations against the PRK. [Words indistinct] to Southeast Asia as well. In this connection, the Foreign Ministry of the PRK deems it necessary to shed greater light on the hostile policy of Thailand vis-a-vis the PRK as described in the white book already distributed to all of you and contained in the statement attached to it.

On this occasion, I would like to add some comments to the statement about Thailand's activities against the PRK [words indistinct]. I will not repeat what has already been said in the white book.

Primarily, let me stress that for more than 3 years Thailand has openly played an important role in realizing China's maneuvers against the PRK. It can be understood that without Thai connivance and without Thai territory as refuge for the Pol Pot gang, it would have been impossible for Pol Pot to remain alive today. However, since our liberation on 7 January, Thailand has allowed its territory to be used by the reactionary Pol Pot gang as a hiding place and a base to concentrate and rebuild its forces. Thai territory has also become a major transportation route through which arms have been taken from Beijing to the Pol Pot gang operating along the Kampuchean-Thai border. Thai territory has also become an area for the mustering of all reactionary Khmer groups in exile from the country.

Following the failure of the reactionary Khmer groups in Pyongyang and Singapore, Thailand has become a focal point, where all these reactionary Khmer groups are concentrating and attempting to create a so-called united front and a loose coalition government.

The administration of Prem Tinsulanon repeatedly claims that Thailand remains neutral regarding the conflict in Kampuchea and that Thailand does not interfere in the internal affairs of this country. However, what has it really done?

If it is really neutral regarding the conflict in Kampuchea, what is the reason behind Thailand's continued maintenance of the reactionary Khmer groups on Thai territory in order to oppose the PRK? If Thailand really does not interfere in Kampuchea's internal affairs, why does Thailand strenuously try to rally reactionary Khmer groups [words indistinct]?

In the recent past, following repeated failures, Thailand threatened the reactionary Khmer groups [words indistinct] but also to connive with China's policy which Thailand has been following for the past 3 years. In the past as at present, Thailand has made great efforts to [words indistinct] to sabotage the PRK. This white book also tells how we [words indistinct] a Sereika government set up by Prime Minister Hem Kroesna in Phnom Penh was rounded up and sent to the tribunal [words indistinct]. Now, they are continuing [words indistinct] in order to undermine security in our country.



Besides the activities [words indistinct] to subvert and undermine the PRK, the second part of the white book also deals with direct armed Thai activities against the PRK in support of the reactionary Khmer forces. Bitter incidents have frequently taken place along the Kampuchean-Thai border. [Words indistinct] fired artillery barrages into my country, sent spy planes to violate the airspace of my country and even dispatched infantry troops to encroach upon the territory of my country.

At a time when [words indistinct] the United States accused the Soviet Union and Vietnam of using chemical weapons in Kampuchea [words indistinct] and when the Reagan administration announced its decision to produce neutron and chemical weapons, Thailand [words indistinct].

We have always sought to settle conflicts and to ensure peace and stability along the Kampuchean-Thai border. Not only has Thailand refused to listen to us and to talk with us but it has continued to provoke hostilities against our country. Thailand is playing with fire. [Words indistinct] which might cause a major armed clash along the Kampuchean-Thai border. This is because, while we seek to solve the problem through political means, we certainly will not allow anyone to interfere in or commit aggression against our country.

The third part of the white book deals with Thailand's continuing use of humanitarian aid and Kampuchean refugees to oppose the Kampuchean people.

[Passage indistinct] for the Kampuchean refugees who [words indistinct] are receiving the care and attention of the PRK. There are three main causes that have brought Kampuchean refugees to Thai territory. First, it was the war of aggression waged by U.S. imperialism against Kampuchea. This U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Kampuchea caused an influx of refugees into Thailand. After the U.S. imperialists were defeated, some of their lackeys also brought a number of Kampuchean people out of the country. Second, it was caused by the genocidal policy of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang. When the Pol Pot gang was in power in Kampuchea, many Kampucheans took refuge in Thailand. After the Pol Pot gang was defeated, it also forcibly dragged a large number of people into Thailand. Third, it was because [words indistinct] on Thai territory and distribute humanitarian aid at the Thai border as a bait to lure the Kampuchean people into fleeing their country when we were experiencing food shortages. It is normal that the fish would swallow the bait. If this humanitarian aid was distributed in Kampuchea, no one would have gone to the border to collect humanitarian aid. For this reason, we regard the considerable aid distribution on the Thai border as one of the causes which prompted many people to flee their homeland when we suffered famine in 1979 and 1980. [Passage indistinct] when the refugees were encouraged to go to Thailand, they had an excuse to provide the Pol Pot remnants and other reactionary Khmer groups with shelter, food and arms. They also used these refugees as a means to obtain international aid for the Pol Pot remnants on humanitarian grounds.

In this white book, we also publish testimonies by a number of journalists and international organization officials who talked about international aid falling into the hands of Pol Pot. If all Kampuchean refugees returned home, Thailand would be deprived of a pretext on which to appeal for international aid to feed the reactionary Khmer groups. For this reason, our white book notes that the question of refugees is deadlocked. We have appealed to the Thai side to agree to the idea of making contacts with each other, of holding negotiations -- direct or indirect or through any international organization -- to solve the problem of Kampuchean refugees. But the Thai side has consistently refused to enter into consultations.

Thailand has persistently linked the question of refugees to a political position according to which Thailand declares nonrecognition for the PRK. On the contrary, Thailand has expressed a desire to create a kind of a [word indistinct] on Kampuchean territory. Thus it seems that Kampucheans became refugees in their own country, something similar to the Palestinians who are refugees in their own homeland. This is a maneuver to create [words indistinct] to feed the Pol Pot gang and other reactionary Khmer groups who oppose the PRK.

There is no need whatsoever for people to continue to be refugees once they have returned to Kampuchea. It would be more practical for them to go back to their hometowns. Thailand must therefore bear full responsibility for this deadlock.

Let me tell you, ladies, gentlemen and friends, the PRK has always wished to live peacefully with its neighbors, including Thailand. We have already established a border of peace and friendship with Vietnam and Laos. We also want to create a border of peace and friendship with Thailand. We hold that Thailand's practice of following Beijing's policy in opposing Kampuchea and the rest of Indochina means very clearly that Thailand is playing with fire.

It is necessary that we maintain patience, restraint and firmness. Nevertheless, we must make it absolutely clear that we will not permit anyone to harm our independence and sovereignty. We are ready to normalize relations with Thailand but we are also ready to cope with any Thai incursion into Kampuchea. [end recording]

When asked by a U.S. reporter about the U.S. slander that the Soviet Union and Vietnam have used toxic chemicals in Kampuchea, the comrade emphasized:

[Begin recording] The U.S. propaganda campaign alleging that the Soviet Union and Vietnam have used toxic chemical weapons in Kampuchea, Laos and Afghanistan was kicked off by U.S. Secretary of State Haig in a statement he made in West Germany. This wanton calumny distorts realities in Kampuchea. Every Kampuchean citizen in the PRK can clarify this question.

In reality, it is the U.S. imperialists who are the criminals using toxic chemical weapons in Indochina, including Kampuchea. [Words indistinct] of chemicals used by the United States in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have created untold consequences to us until now. U.S. Secretary of State Haig was himself one of the U.S. generals who conducted the war of aggression in Indochina and Vietnam. He used to commit the crime of dumping chemicals in Indochina. Now, he is slinging mud at the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

We often say that when a thief starts crying "stop thief," he can make himself heard louder than a policeman and the victim put together. For what purpose has the United States launched a campaign accusing the Soviet Union and Vietnam of using chemical weapons in Indochina?

Let me tell you of my personal views on this question. First, the United States wanted an advantage over the Soviet Union at the recent Geneva talks for [words indistinct] Reagan ordered the production of some types of arms which were banned by Carter. The United States has to justify the tension it thereby created in the world. Thus, in order to have an upper hand over the Soviet Union in the talks, the United States [words indistinct]. Second, as part of their efforts to preserve the UN seat for the Pol Pot gang, they saw a need to conjure up a so-called Kampuchean question in order to hold the so-called international conference on Kampuchea and realize the resolutions of the UN General Assembly on Kampuchea. Therefore, willingly or not, the United States has to join with China, Thailand and a number of other reactionary countries in making propaganda [words indistinct] and also to erase the criminal records of the U.S. actions in Indochina before 1975.

Another reason is that while accusing the Soviet Union of using chemical weapons, the United States has now decided to produce chemical weapons itself. It accuses other people in order to cover up its own actions. This trick has been used before by the United States. It is being used again now.

A delegation appointed by the United States to investigate the use of chemical weapons still has not come up with any conclusive findings. This is an initial setback for its campaign of slander against the Soviet Union. [end recording]

This press conference ended at 1600 in a most cordial and joyous atmosphere.

FOREIGN MINISTRY WHITE BOOK ON THAI POLICIES

Part One

BK220500 Phnom Penh SPK in French 0425 GMT 20 Mar 82

[Text] Phnom Penh, 20 Mar (SPK) -- On 19 March the PRK Foreign Ministry issued a white book on the intensification of hostile acts by the Thai authorities against the PRK. We now reprint the first part of this white book which denounces Thailand's political activities:

After toppling the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan -- agents of the Beijing expansionists in their schemes against the Kampuchean revolution and the three Indochinese countries -- the Kampuchean people have become the masters of their own destiny. The people's power, born out of the 1 May 1981 general elections, is effectively managing the internal and external affairs of the country. The Government of the PRK is, therefore, the sole authentic and legal representative of its people.

Under the leadership of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and government, the country is rapidly being reborn. Important achievements have been made in all fields -- economic, political, cultural, social, military. A peaceful life with independence and freedom has been restored to the Kampuchean people.

The PRK pursues a foreign policy of peace, friendship and nonalignment; of peaceful coexistence with all countries regardless of their political and social systems on the basis of mutual respect for independence and territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, equality and reciprocal benefit; and of establishing friendly, cooperative and good-neighbor relations with the Southeast Asian countries thereby contributing to peace, stability and prosperity in the region and to progress in the world.

Regarding Thailand, letting bygones be bygones and always displaying good will, the PRK wants to foster friendly and good-neighbor relations with that country on the basis of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty. The PRK also seeks in the immediate future to begin a dialogue in order to put an end to the hostile acts which are equally nefarious to both sides.

Turning up their noses at the reality of the situation in Kampuchea, which is improving with every passing day, the Chinese expansionists, in collusion with U.S. imperialism and the leading circles of some ASEAN countries, are trying to restore the genocidal Pol Pot regime, sabotage the rebirth of the Kampuchean people and overturn peace and security in Southeast Asia. They are plotting to use various reactionary Khmer elements to reestablish the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea while camouflaging Pol Pot.

It is regrettable that the Thai authorities turn their backs to this evidence. They have not ceased to declare: "Thailand remains neutral in the Kampuchean problem" and "we hold that Kampuchea's internal affairs must be settled by the Kampucheans themselves without foreign interference." But, in their deeds, they are the first to play the game of the Chinese expansionists in collusion with U.S. imperialism to injure Kampuchea.

This white book brings to light the hostile acts of the Thai authorities against the PRK.

Thailand openly plays the leading role in the realization of the Chinese schemes by intensifying the political activities hostile to the PRK:

The memorandum "The Tense Situation at the Kampuchean-Thai Border" issued by the PRK Foreign Ministry on 31 July 1980 stressed the following points:

1. Immediately following the Kampuchean people's victory of 7 January 1979, Thailand took part in the implementation of the plan by the Chinese expansionists to reassemble and support the fragments of the Pol Pot troops in order to launch them against the new revolutionary power.
2. Thailand has not ceased to allow arms given by China to the fragments of Pol Pot's troops to be transported across its territory.
3. Along the Kampuchean-Thai border and in Thai territory there are sanctuaries used by all stripes of reactionary Khmer exiles and serving as living centers, logistics bases and springboards for launching attacks against the PRK.
4. Thailand has used international aid goods destined for the Kampuchean people as an instrument against the PRK.
5. Thailand used Kampuchean refugees as an instrument in the service of the Kampuchean reactionaries against the PRK.
6. Armed Thai forces directly violate Kampuchean territory and provide support for the Kampuchean reactionaries in their attacks against the PRK.

Far from ceasing the acts denounced in the 1980 memorandum, the Thai authorities since then conducted even more dangerous, more overt activities, thereby rudely interfering in the internal affairs of the PRK, an independent and sovereign country, in flagrant violation of international rights and against the very interests of the Thai people.

A. Thailand, in collusion with the Chinese expansionists, encourages the establishment of a so-called united front among the reactionary Khmers.

Following repeated failures, the Chinese expansionists in cahoots with U.S. imperialism and reactionary circles in the ASEAN countries are doing their utmost to restore the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan regime by using reactionary Kampucheans of all stripes to improve the "Democratic Kampuchea" facade and implement Pol Pot's policy without Pol Pot in order to divert public opinion.

"Most certainly Thailand is aware that another force must be found to replace Pol Pot if the ASEAN wants to have a larger support against the occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnam," (BBC, 27 October 1980).

What is this force?

Sitthi Sawetsila, Thai minister of foreign affairs, has spoken straight to the point: "We hope that Son Sann and the other factions can join together under the umbrella of Democratic Kampuchea. It would be a great asset to us." And: "On behalf of the ASEAN countries, I fully approve of the coalition government..." (Sitthi Sawetsila's statement during his visit to France in April 1981).

The Bangkok authorities have on many occasions declared that "they do not take part in the choice of leaders for Kampuchea."

But how about the facts?

According to a member of Sihanouk's family who works in an international organization in Bangkok, a few months after the fall of the Pol Pot regime, "Thailand agreed that Son Sann, then leader of an organization of Kampuchean exiles in France, might come secretly to Thailand, accompanied by a Lon Nol general, with the mission of strengthening fragments of the Pol Pot army to be used as a military basis for Son Sann's Khmer People's National Liberation Front. A government-in-exile will be founded when circumstances permit...."

On 9 October 1979, with Thailand's full support, Son Sann founded the armed forces for his front. Shortly after that, he stated to the press that he would soon be able to set up a provisional government in exile. (AFP, 25 October 1981) One after another, the other ASEAN countries have declared that they "consider Son Sann as the most suitable man to lead a coalition government in Kampuchea." (FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, 8 May 1981) And the Philippine minister of foreign affairs stated in Manila on 8 January 1981 on behalf of the Standing Committee of ASEAN: "ASEAN puts its choice on Son Sann rather than Sihanouk...." (AFP, 9 January 1981)

If the Chinese schemes to revive the corpse of "Democratic Kampuchea" have failed, the support of ASEAN, with Thailand at the head, for Son Sann and the other Kampuchean reactionaries will also fail to reverse the situation in Kampuchea. Thus Thailand and the other ASEAN countries had to seek, in China's wake, to rally the Kampuchean reactionaries in a "united front" with the Khmer Rouge at the core to be used by Beijing and Bangkok to spearhead their attacks against the PRK.

Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon visited Beijing on 27 October 1980. "Thailand," he told his hosts, "wants to form a coalition government in Kampuchea embracing the groups which are fighting for power." According to the KYODO news agency, "Prem Tinsulanon persuaded the Chinese leaders to accept the creation of a third force in Kampuchea including Sihanouk." (KYODO, 20 October 1980) On his part, the Thai minister of foreign affairs confided to the Beijing authorities that he "hoped they supported Thailand's efforts to create a change in the leadership of Democratic Kampuchea," and followed the pressures on the Kampuchean reactionaries and frenzied diplomatic activities in Beijing, Bangkok and Singapore with the visits by Prem, Lee Kuan Yew, Zhao Ziyang....

On 31 January 1981, the Chinese and Thai prime ministers met in Bangkok, to "have a long debate on the strategy for the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea and discuss in detail the forms of a new leadership under the banner of 'Democratic Kampuchea' already recognized by the United Nations." (NATION REVIEW, 1 February 1981)

Within the framework of these schemes, Thailand's position regarding Sihanouk underwent a complete volte-face. Sitthi declared everywhere: "Thailand authorizes Sihanouk to go to Kampuchea through Thailand, if he asks to do so." (KYODO, 17 February 1981); "Thailand appreciates Sihanouk's efforts to create a united front..." (Radio Australia, 10 August 1981); "If Sihanouk wants to come to Bangkok to meet Kampuchean Refugees, the Thai Government will grant its approval...." (KYODO, 8 June 1981)

On 6 March 1981, a few days before the Sihanouk-Khieu Samphan meeting in Pyongyang on 10 March 1981, Chinese Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Nianlong secretly rushed to Bangkok to take measures in concert with the Thai authorities to force the Kampuchean reactionaries to meet each other. Both Thailand and China nurtured the hope of seeing a united front of the counterrevolutionary Kampuchean forces come into being.



B. Bangkok has become the rallying point of the Kampuchean reactionaries who oppose the PRK.

Following the failure of the 10 March 1981 meeting in Pyongyang to form a "united front," in concert with China, "Thailand and the other ASEAN countries put pressure on the Kampuchean groups hostile to the Heng Samrin regime so that they might overcome their differences and set up a united front." (BBC, 5 September 1981) "Thailand called on Son Sann not to create obstructions but rather to ally himself with the Pol Pot group," and it "hinted that it would withdraw its support for the promotion of Son Sann as head of the united front government if he did not give up his inflexible conditions..." (Washington POST and New York TIMES, 28 August 1981). They went as far as to say: "If Thailand and ASEAN withdraw their support from him, the United States will do the same." (Bangkok POST, 26 August 1981)

Sitthi did not hide his impatience and that of ASEAN: "Thailand wishes to see the coalition government set up as soon as possible, whatever the circumstances, and before the meeting of the UN General Assembly which will take place on 15 September 1981." (AFP, 7 September 1981)

In order to realize this goal and in close collusion with Beijing and Singapore, the Thai authorities put pressure on Sihanouk and Son Sann to go and meet with Khieu Samphan in Singapore.

The communique issued on 4 September 1981 following this meeting was in fact prepared in Bangkok. The FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW of 18-24 September 1981 wrote in this connection: "The communique issued in Singapore by the three leaders of the Khmer resistance was written out long before by ASEAN. Son Sann, leader of the KPNLF, however, modified it considerably. The project, written by Thailand on behalf of ASEAN, had been the main topic of discussions between Son Sann and Khieu Samphan, leader of the Khmer Rouge, during their conference some 10 days before the Singapore meeting...Samphan agreed with the Thai project while Son Sann found the wording too precise."

Once the communique was made public, Sitthi, on behalf of his government, took it upon himself to declare: "Thailand will provide a meeting place for the parties for additional conversations on the formation of a coalition government." He specified: "General Prem won't object to that." (NATION, 8 September 1981) Shortly after that, the "special committee" set up by Khieu Samphan, Son Sann and Sihanouk was invited to Bangkok to hold working sessions.

From 13 September to the beginning of November 1981 this committee held nine meetings in the Thai capital of 3 to 5 hours each in order to implement the points of the Singapore joint communique written by Thailand and born out of the secret manipulations of Thailand and China.

Even before the first meeting, Sitthi got into touch with Chinese ambassador to Thailand, Shen Ping, in order to [word indistinct] negotiators. According to AFP, the Thai foreign minister successively summoned Son Sann and the representatives of the two other groups on 19 October in order to urge them to reach agreement in their tripartite negotiations deadlocked since September 1981. (AFP, 31 October 1981) Before that, Sitthi was seen "advising Son Sann not to make early demands for concessions from the Khmer Rouge." (The NATION REVIEW, 13 September 1981) During the tripartite meetings, Thailand invited Son Sann to put his signature at the bottom of a memorandum prepared by the Khmer Rouge by which Son Sann would subscribe to three political principles, including the establishment of a new government. At the same time, Thailand urged the Khmer Rouge to satisfy Son Sann's demand for an immediate discussion of the distribution of ministries....(AFP, 31 October 1981)



Aligning himself with the Thai authorities, a high-ranking Singaporean figure said on 14 September 1981: "ASEAN will actively support the resistance forces of Son Sann and Sihanouk in the military, economic and diplomatic fields...only if they form an alliance with the Khmer Rouge."

This threat was in line with the statement by Sitthi in January 1981 when he urged Son Sann to go to Pyongyang: "Any new option for Son Sann would be ill-timed unless he forms an alliance with Pol Pot...." (Bangkok POST, 17 January 1981)

Under the concerted pressure of Thailand, China, the United States and the reactionaries in the ASEAN countries, Son Sann was compelled to declare at the "international conference on Kampuchea," held in New York on 16 July 1981 at the instigation of China, the United States and ASEAN: "According to the advice of friendly countries which are repeated even here, we propose to the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea to negotiate on the spot, without delay, in all good faith and with mutual trust..." "I agree to head the Government of Democratic Kampuchea...."

This time, with the active aid of Thailand, Singapore and observers from other ASEAN countries, Son Sann had to meet with Sihanouk and Khieu Samphan in Singapore and sign the tripartite joint communique of 4 September 1981.

In order to compensate for their pressure, Bangkok and Beijing added a substantial promise of material aid to encourage the Kampuchean henchmen to join together in a "united front." According to AFP (29 April 1981), Son Sann's KPNLF received 3,000 AK rifles and 80-mm mortars sent by China through the Thai-Kampuchean border. On 9 May 1981, following his meeting with Chinese Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping, Sihanouk announced: "China agrees to help Sihanouk completely equip his army" (AFP, 9 March 1981). Rajaratnam, representing the warmongers of Singapore, loudly said: "If an alliance can be founded, Singapore will be counted among the arms-supplying countries..." (AFP, 24 November 1981).

However, the efforts made during these past 2 years by Thailand in collusion with China and the United States have borne no fruit. Assessing the outcome of the meeting held by the special committee of the Kampuchean reactionaries in Bangkok, Sitthi had to admit: "We had a historic meeting of the three Khmer parties in Singapore but the conversations in Bangkok did not proceed in a satisfactory manner..." (The NATION REVIEW, 20 October 1981)

A high-ranking Thai figure did not hide his disappointment: "The government is growing impatient; we blame each other for authorizing the Khmer resistance forces to meet here... our government has the right to lose patience in the face of this deadlock." There was not [word indistinct] of this impatience to the threats. Making a stopover in Copenhagen during one of his visits to the United States, Prem declared: "The Thai Government way no longer authorize the Khmer resistance forces to use Thai territory as a meeting place, if they do not make any progress in their negotiations." And a high-ranking Thai official added: "They must fully understand that without the support of Thailand, they will have many difficulties." (The NATION REVIEW, 17 October 1981)

The Thai menaces went to the Khmer Rouge as well as Son Sann. During a meeting with Sihanouk in Paris, Sitthi intimated clearly to the latter that "his country and the neighboring countries might withdraw their support from the Khmer Rouge if they continued to oppose the establishment of a coalition government to replace the Phnom Penh government supported by Vietnam." And he asked Sihanouk to "push the tripartite negotiations in order to form this government." (KYODO, 2 November 1981)

However, he hinted that "ASEAN would not do anything which might be detrimental to the existing armed forces of 'Democratic Kampuchea', for these forces can maintain pressure on Vietnam." (The NATION REVIEW, 2 November 1981) Therefore, to cut a long story short, the Bangkok authorities in fact sought to maintain the Pol Pot regime, a tool in the service of the Chinese schemes in the region. The most they could do was to put pressure on the Khmer reactionaries to join together against the PRK but never to deny them their support.

While the special committee was marking time, Singapore Deputy Prime Minister Rajaratnam hurried to Bangkok on 21 November 1981 to rescue Thailand "with the intention of serving as intermediary to stave off obstacles to the formation of Kampuchea's coalition government." On the same day, he met with Son Sann; on the following day, he met with Prem and, afterward, with the representatives of the Khmer Rouge and "invited the three resistance groups to form a coalition with Son Sann as the prime minister." Rajaratnam admitted having made new proposals during these separate meetings in order to push the "founding of an anti-Vietnamese alliance." (UPI, AFP, 21-22 November 1981) He did not hide that these proposals were elaborated by him and Sitthi. Rajaratnam then received, one after another, the foreign ministers of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, who came to Bangkok with the same goal of putting pressure on the Khmer reactionaries.

On 10 December 1981, the five ASEAN foreign ministers held a meeting in Phatthaya (Thailand) to discuss the support to be given to a flexible coalition government of anti-Vietnamese Khmer groups. (BBC, 10 December 1981)

Will these activities of Thailand and other ASEAN countries prove the "Thai policy of noninterference in the choice of a leader of the creation of a front of Kampuchean patriots groups?" (Bangkok radio, 26 August 1981)

C. Thailand intensifies the creation of political organizations in order to wage sabotage activities in PRK territory.

Besides starting and combined action with Beijing and other reactionaries, such as the maintenance of a Kampuchean seat at the UN in profit of Pol Pot, the organization of "the international conference on Kampuchea," is pressuring Khmer reactionaries for the creation of a united front, support and supplies of remnants of Pol Pot troops for their acts of brigandage in Kampuchean territory.... The Bangkok authorities occupy themselves creating reactionary political organizations among the remnants of Lon Nol, Son Sann, Sihanouk and Pol Pot troops and inserting them into Kampuchea for sabotage purposes.

On 24 June 1979, Hem Krusna, alias Chum Nhel, Chum Chiet, and Hem Sok...under U.S. and Thai orders, gathered some 50 reactionaries from all sides in Phnom Penh and various Kampuchean provinces with the intention of clandestinely founding the "provisional Sereika government for the liberation of the Khmer Republic" -- a reactionary organization in the pay of Bangkok and Washington. Born in 1946 and a former mercenary at Lon Nol's service, he maintained close relations with Thai and U.S. secret services. He proclaimed himself prime minister of this government and appointed 129 ministers.

Hem Krusna was arrested on 3 September 1979 and 17 members of his "government" deserted him in August and September 1979.

They were summoned to the Phnom Penh people's revolutionary tribunal in June 1980. At the bar of the tribunal they confessed to acting under the directions and control of the Thai and U.S. secret services, with Beijing's support. Hem Krusna's "provisional government" was aimed primarily at toppling the people's power. "The nationalist" party -- a reactionary political organization headed by Kot Sam Rach, former colonel of Lon Nol's troops -- was founded on 1 May 1979, with the same objective, as determined by the U.S. and Thailand: Topple the people's power of Kampuchea. The vigilant Kampuchean revolutionary forces rapidly discovered and eliminated it.

Hen Krusna and his ilk: U. Savat, former major of the state police force under Lon Nol and Sihanouk, was arrested on 13 February 1980; Mok Chhom, former second lieutenant under Lon Nol, was arrested on 19 February 1980; Kum Tep Moni, who was formerly a major and commander of the regiment 63 of Lon Nol's general staff was sent to Thailand to master the handling of broadcasting stations, was arrested on 12 October 1979...confessed to have been trained and maintained by Thai and U.S. secret services. They had a mission to gather, with agreement of the Chinese expansionists and Thai reactionaries, antirevolutionary Kampuchean forces and to topple the people's power when the time had come.

Most of the leaders of "this party" fell into the [word indistinct] of the revolutionary forces except Kit Sam Rach, who is actually living at base 007 on the Thai-Kampuchean border. The Bangkok authorities are doing everything possible to help him to return to Kampuchea and continue his sabotage activities. (end of part one)

#### Part Two

BK220505 Phnom Penh SPK in French 1431 GMT 20 Mar 82

[Text] Phnom Penh, 20 Mar (SPK) -- The second part of the white book published by the PRK Foreign Ministry on 19 March is entitled: Thailand Continues To Carry Out Armed Actions Against the PRK and To Support Those of Kampuchean Reactionaries. Following is the content of this part:

The Thai authorities, in close collusion with the Chinese expansionists, are propping up the debris of Pol Pot troops and carrying out armed actions on an increasingly larger scale against the PRK.

According to a foreign secret service, Beijing has asked for Bangkok's help in creating a joint military command of the three reactionary Kampuchean groups. This command, installed in Thailand, would use Thai territory as a springboard from which to attack Vietnam and the PRK.

According to the same source, after the visits of Prem to China and Zhao Ziyang to Bangkok, and other visits of various Thai military delegations to Beijing in 1981, the Thai Government has put at Chinese disposal several airbases in eastern Thailand for the purpose of carrying out armed actions against Kampuchea.

Thailand has opened about 20 points on the Kampuchean border where Pol Pot followers and other Kampuchean reactionaries come to receive Chinese, U.S. and Thai aid.

At the request of the Chinese and the Khmer Rouge, Thailand has helped open supply corridors for the Pol Pot debris from the border to Koh Kong (through Comak Pass) and a series of other supply lines from Koh Kong to the provinces of Pursat, Kompong Thom...inside Kampuchean territory.

Pen Chhit, alias Men Lon, alias No 13, a former deputy regimental commander of the Pol Pot troops arrested on 13 August 1981, has confessed: At Cham Ka Kor (a Pol Pot base in Kampuchean territory, 6 km from the Thai border) we received sufficient daily supplies of Chinese, U.S. and Japanese aid products such as rice, sugar, canned food, medicines...unloaded from Thai army trucks. If sometimes one counted a single convoy in several months, on certain days one could also count 300 or even 400 trucks...I saw Thai soldiers every day at Cham Ka Kor. I don't know which armed service they belonged to. But I saw them wearing camouflage uniforms and steel helmets, carrying arms and moving around freely in the base.

Concerning another base on Chhat Mountain, 7 km from the Thai border, the same Pen Chhit declared: I have (?been) to Chhat Mountain, where Pol Pot's followers enjoyed the protection of the Thai army. They were quartered around the base of the mountain. Thai artillery set up an observation post on the top, ready to intervene in support of Pol Pot's followers.

At Cham Ka Kor, Pen Chhit could see reconnaissance planes, jets and twin-fuselage cargo planes entering Kampuchea from Thailand. To show clearly that the Pol Pot bases are installed in Kampuchean territory, 6-7 km from the border, Pen Chhit drew a sketch of the places. This sketch provides the proof of Thai violations of the PRK's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Kong Chhuot, born in 1957 at Prey Chhak, Mongkolborei District, Battambang Province, member of the Pol Pot party, a regimental commander of the Pol Pot troops taken prisoner on 17 October 1980, has made the following declaration:

Toward mid-1979, Thai artillery came to take up positions on Chhat Mountain (near Tap Phia, Thailand). Installed on the top of the mountain was an artillery position comprising 6 175-mm cannons, 6 105-mm cannons, 4 75-mm cannons, 1 anti-aircraft gun and a radar station. From this base, the Thai artillery provided support for the Pol Pot troops. Its cannons could reach Sre (Battambang), near national highway No 6. To the west of the base of the mountain, there were 12 military posts manned by 15-20 Thai soldiers each. These posts have the mission of defending the artillery position....

A Thai division is stationed along the border, facing Chhat Mountain, 1.5 km inside Kampuchean territory, to serve as support forces in the sector.

Chhat Mountain is located 4 km from the Kampuchea-Thailand border, in Kampuchean territory, as it is clearly marked on a cement border-post. Thailand has built three roads leading from its territory to Chhat Mountain.

The Thai authorities have allowed the Chinese to use Thai territory to come to the aid of the Pol Pot debris. On this subject, Kong Chhuot has reported:

There are Chinese advisers on Chhat Mountain. Protected by the Thais, they have opened guerrilla warfare training courses for Pol Pot battalion-level officers or soldiers. Pol Pot regiment and division-level officers receive their training at Tap Phia in Thailand. I myself attended a 15-day course there toward the end of 1979. I traveled to Tap Phia in a car driven by a Thai. Lodging, food, everything, was provided by the Thais.

Like Pen Chhit, Kong Chhuot has affirmed: The entire region of the Cham Ka Kor base is under the charge of the Thai troops stationed on Chhat Mountain. Pol Pot troops are concentrated there. They are maintained by the Thais, who supply them with arms for their acts of sabotage in Kampuchean territory. The Thais bring in food and arms directly for their garrison on Chhat Mountain and for the Pol Pot troops. Since late April 1979, they have used GMC trucks for this purpose. They also provide supplies for the Chinese advisers. Between Chhat Mountain and Prey Nor there are about 90 Chinese advisers whose mission is to train 3 divisions.

Kong Chhuot drew a sketch of the supply corridors used by the Thais deep in Kampuchean territory.

If their statements on the distance between Chhat Mountain and the border differ slightly from each other, Pen Chhit and Kong Chhuot agree that the mountain is located well inside Kampuchean territory.

The volume of arms and ammunition and other means of war which Thailand has shipped directly or has helped the Chinese ship to the Kampuchean reactionaries has increased appreciably with each passing day. In the first half of 1979, the Pol Pot troops received 3,389 tons compared with 6,490 tons during the same period in 1980.



For 1981, the magazine FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW (8-14 May 1981) reported: In just 3 days in mid-April 1981, the Chinese sent to the Son Sann forces via Thailand 250-300 tons of arms and ammunition comprising AK-47 and SKS rifles, type-56 submachineguns, grenade-launchers, rockets, B-40's and B-41's and 60-mm and 80-mm mortars. These weapons were transported by trucks to Sa Nghe, Nang Samet and Nang Chan villages to arm 1,200 men. The next and second delivery will include antitank recoilless rifles....

The UPI agency on 30 April 1980 reported: Chinese arms, including 82-mm mortars, AK-47 rifles and large amounts of ammunition, were delivered last week to Kampuchean rebel forces led by Son Sann.

However, wishing to prove Thailand's neutrality and thinking they can mislead public opinion, Prime Minister Prem as well as Foreign Minister Sithi have ceaselessly declared: Thailand does not permit anyone to use its territory in transporting arms and ammunition to the Pol Pot troops.

Facts have given the lie to their statements: In Bangkok, it is reported that a special committee has been set up outside all official organs to transport Chinese aid to anti-Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. (LIBERATION, 27 May 1981)

A fact worth noting: Thai territory is used not only in transporting Chinese arms for the Pol Pot troops but also for the transit of all Chinese and Western aid for Son Sann's and Sihanouk's forces.

Chau Saray, 30 years old, born at Ta Ong, Battambang District, Battambang Province, belonging to Sereika unit 334, taken prisoner by the Kampuchean revolutionary armed forces, has declared: My unit was stationed in Thai territory, 2 km from the border in the Sam Pikar Mountain region, facing Angkor Chum District, Oddar Meanchey Province. It underwent training there for 1 month before being sent into Kampuchea in April 1980 to carry out military operations.

Phot Sophat, 31 years old, born at Trapeang Thom, Siem Reap Province, a squad leader of lion unit 253 who rallied to the revolutionary forces on 31 April 1980, has declared: My unit, comprising 300 men, is based in Thai territory facing Long Veng, in Kampuchea's Oddar Meanchey Province. It has continuously sent its men to carry out operations in Siem Reap Province.

Phoun Kan, a Pol Pot soldier arrested on 26 April 1980, has declared: My unit is based in Thailand, facing Koh Kong in Kampuchea. In July 1980 I was ordered to return with seven others to Kampot Province. Earlier, Thai advisers had taught me how to gather intelligence.

Khuon Ken, 22 years old, a Pol Pot soldier who surrendered to the revolutionary forces on 26 June 1981 in Sangkum Thmey District, Preah Vihear Province, has declared: My unit, comprising about 300 men, is based in Thailand about 20 km from Preah Vihear. After undergoing training, I was sent together with 70 others to conduct operations inside Kampuchea. Near our base in Thailand, there are other units. They are also frequently sent out to conduct operations in Kampuchean territory....

It is the same story for most of the Pol Pot, Sereika or Moulinaka soldiers who were taken prisoner by or rallied to the revolutionary forces. They confessed to having been based and trained in Thailand and then introduced into Kampuchea to carry out acts of sabotage.

Aside from their support from the Kampuchean reactionaries, the Thai authorities have directly conducted large-scale operations in violation of Kampuchea's territorial integrity.



The following is a list of the violations of the PRK's sovereignty and territorial integrity by Thai forces in 1981, according to still incomplete statistics:

January: 71 violations of Kampuchean airspace by Thai aircraft in reconnaissance flights or in support of infantry or artillery; 449 artillery bombardments; and 67 infantry incursions into Kampuchean territory.

February: 29 airspace violations; 418 artillery bombardments; 30 infantry incursions; and 32 violations of Kampuchean territorial waters by warships or armed vessels (one of them was captured on 16 February by the Kampuchean Navy).

March: 48 airspace violations; 485 artillery bombardments; 35 infantry incursions; and 149 violations of territorial waters.

April: 29 airspace violations; 495 artillery bombardments; 27 ground incursions; and 54 violations of territorial waters.

May: 76 airspace violations; 675 shellings; 14 incursions; and 42 violations of territorial waters. On 29 and 30 May, Sr-71 aircraft overflew Preah Vihear and the Phnom Penh region.

June: 45 airspace violations; 765 shellings; 36 ground incursions; and 410 violations of territorial waters. On 26 June, at 1000, F-5 aircraft fired rockets at Kampuchean border guards on height 199.

July: 46 airspace violations; 849 shellings; 15 ground incursions; and 788 violations of territorial waters. Thai aircraft overflew Kampuchean territory 20 and even 15 km [as received] from the border. A large maneuver was organized close to the Kampuchean border, mobilizing Thai marines, infantry and aircraft. Under cover of this maneuver, the Thai authorities intensified their military operations at the border and provided support for acts of sabotage by the Pol Pot elements in Kampuchean territory.

August: 32 airspace violations; 604 artillery bombardments; 20 ground incursions; and 136 violations of territorial waters.

September: 38 violations of airspace; 771 artillery bombardments; 24 ground incursions; and 482 violations of territorial waters.

October: 52 airspace violations; 563 artillery bombardments; 24 ground incursions; and 838 violations of territorial waters. A joint maneuver by Thai and U.S. armed forces took place near the Kampuchean border.

November: 29 air incursions; 591 artillery bombardments; 46 infantry raids; and 1,127 violations of territorial waters. A serious incident: On 29 November, 5 Thai destroyers penetrated deeply into Kampuchean waters west of Koh Kong Island. A second Thai-U.S. joint maneuver codenamed "Siamese Sea" was launched on 3 November, mobilizing three ships of the 7th Fleet and one destroyer and four other vessels of the Thai Navy.

December: 32 air incursions; 293 artillery bombardments; 22 infantry raids; and 1,118 violations of territorial waters. On the 28th, Thai ships, penetrating deeply into Kampuchean waters, fired on a coastguard vessel and kidnapped its five crew members. They even took the boat to Thailand and raised a hue and cry about a violation of Thai territorial waters.

These armed Thai operations have often taken place west of Pursat Province; northwest of Koh Kong Province; in the Preah Vihear Temple sector; north of Siem Reap Province; in the Choan Chun, O-Smach, Phum Ku, Ampil and west Ta Sanh sectors; southwest of Sisophon District; on heights 199, 391, 273 and 172; and in the coastal zone around Koh Kong and Koh Tang Islands.

To cover up these acts and to mislead world opinion, the Thai authorities, from Prem to Sitthi, have not failed to accuse the PRK and the Vietnamese army slanderously of violating Thailand's territorial integrity and threatening its security. These slanders have also been used as a pretext for soliciting increased U.S. aid, especially military aid. On 7 October 1981, during his visit to the United States, Prem appealed to Washington to give aid to Thailand to counter a so-called threat from Vietnam.

Washington, of course, has not turned a deaf ear to these appeals. In October and November 1981, one could see U.S. ships, aircraft and GI's flocking to Thailand to participate in joint maneuvers with the Thai armed forces. U.S. warships called at Thai ports. GI's in civilian clothes reappeared at former U.S. bases. Strategically important airbases such as Utaphao have been once again put at the disposal of the U.S. Air Force.

All these activities of the Thai authorities have been carried out in conjunction with the sabotage operations launched by the Kampuchean reactionaries against the PRK. The Thai leaders, however, have denied having harbored and maintained the Kampuchean reactionaries. They have also denied the daily acts of violation of Kampuchean territory committed by their armed forces. (end of part two)

#### Part Three

BK220509 Phnom Penh SPK in French 0414 GMT 21 Mar 82

[Text] Phnom Penh, 21 Mar (SPK) -- The third and last part of the white book made public on 19 March by the PRK Foreign Ministry denounces the Thai authorities' maneuvers against the PRK using humanitarian aid and refugees. Following is the content of this part:

On 25 July 1981, the Thai paper NATION REVIEW reported: The Thai Government will discuss with the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees the details of a program for the repatriation of 100,000 Kampuchean refugees living in camps along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

On 7 October 1981, the Bangkok POST wrote: Mr Prasong Sunsiri, secretary general of the National Security Council, has made public a policy of humanitarian restraint on the part of the Thai Government, including measures aimed at encouraging refugees to stay in or go back to their country.

But, as everybody knows, the Thai authorities have up to now turned a deaf ear to the PRK's logical and reasonable proposals aimed at finding a solution to the problem of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand. On the contrary, they have pursued their policy of inciting Kampucheans to leave their country so as to increase the reactionary Kampuchean forces and sabotage the PRK's production and security.

This policy is related to the schemes of Beijing and Washington. Have not certain U.S. Department of State officials declared that the massive departure of Indochinese is always a good thing which must be discreetly encouraged? (LE MONDE, 8 July 1981)

Concerning humanitarian aid, Bangkok has obstinately demanded that roads be opened for the transportation of this aid from the Thai border to the interior of Kampuchea. Moreover, since the Khmer Rouge control the refugee camps, they have quickly and cleverly disposed of this aid for the benefit of the Pol Pot debris, who, far from disintegrating, have been reorganized. (LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, December 1981)

On the subject of Kampuchean refugees, the Voice of America announced on 26 August 1981 that the number of people living in 40 holding centers at the Thai border had increased by 2 percent in relation to the 30,000 people needing aid. On 22 September 1981 the Washington POST wrote: According to AID officials, in the northwest sector of the border there are some holding centers controlled by the KPNLF, and anticommunist resistance group. Since early July 1981, the number of refugees there has increased by 2,000 a week and has now reached 140,000...in addition, according to the same sources, more than 60,000 Kampucheans are living along the border north and south of Camp Nong Chan, 20 km north of Aranyaprathet. Last month, the population of this camp went up from 17,000 to 40,000.

The Thai authorities have always insisted that these refugee camps be installed along the border so as to shelter and provide supplies for the Kampuchean reactionaries. They have ceaselessly demanded the creation of a security sector in Kampuchean territory along the border, a masquerade [volet] of the Thai policy of repatriating refugees. (KYODO, 28 May 1981) On 29 July 1981, the Washington POST wrote: Bangkok plans to turn the refugee camps at the border into solid military positions.

It is in these refugee camps that Gen Dien Del, the KPNLF military commander, comes to recruit his mercenaries. It is also there that Hu Sui, a high-ranking Chinese Red Cross official, comes to get his Indochinese recruits. (AFP, 4 August 1981)

Over the past 3 years (since 7 January 1979), the Thai authorities have exploited the problem of Kampuchean refugees for the purpose of opposing Kampuchea's rebirth. Their policy is still the cause of the tense and unstable situation at the common border between the two countries. Through the channel of voluntary repatriation of Kampuchean refugees, they have sent people to help create reactionary organizations opposed to the PRK. Thus, among the 35,000 voluntary repatriates (9,000 according to Thai sources) whom they have compelled Kampuchea to take back, they have been able to plant 700 Sereika men in their pay. Many of these disguised voluntary repatriates, trained in Thailand or China, have been arrested or have rallied to the revolutionary power.

The Thai authorities have also exploited the refugees' misfortune to arouse Kampuchean and world opinion against the PRK. The march organized by the Medecins Sans Frontiere in Thailand in early 1980 was an example of this exploitation.

The Bangkok authorities, in close collusion with Beijing and Washington, have appealed to the international community to continue humanitarian aid to Kampuchea and to the Kampuchean refugees living in Thailand and west Kampuchea. In May 1981, They directed and international aid convoy carrying seeds and goods to the border and distributed them. This distribution of international aid at the Thai-Kampuchean border permitted them to legally provide supplies to the Pol Pot clique and other Kampuchean reactionaries.

Their maneuvers have not yielded good results. The PRK has taken effective counter-measures. Moreover, these Thai, U.S. and Chinese maneuvers aimed at demanding the sending of humanitarian aid across the Thai-Kampuchean border have been condemned by progressive opinion, including the international organizations in charge of distributing this aid to the Kampuchean people.

The Thai authorities, however, are continuing to transport Chinese and U.S. aid daily and clandestinely to the Kampuchean reactionaries stationed in Thailand or in Kampuchean territory close to the border. The statements of the Pol Pot clique and Sereika men taken prisoner by the revolutionary forces are significant in this regard. (end of the white book)

SRV-LED FORCES TAKE KHMER RESISTANCE STRONGHOLD

BK200731 Bangkok POST in English 20 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] Trat -- Vietnamese-led troops last Wednesday [17 March] overran the stronghold of Kampuchean resistance leader Son Sann at Sok San, inflicting heavy casualties and forcing thousands of Khmer civilians to flee into Thailand, military officials said yesterday.

Supreme Command spokesman Lt Gen Som Khattaphan said between 4,000 and 5,000 Khmer civilians crossed the border into Tambon Dan Chumphon in Borai District, about 390 kilometres from Bangkok, after their 4 villages at Sok San, about 6 kilometres from the Thai border, were heavily attacked by the Vietnamese forces. He said marines have been sent to the area to try to push Khmers back into their territory and seal off the border.

According to a spokesman for the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), one civilian was killed and six seriously wounded when the attack was first launched on Tuesday. However, the Son Sann guerrillas took "heavy casualties" on Wednesday.

The spokesman said the Vietnamese forces poured heavy mortar fire on the four villages which house about 8,700 civilians and Son Sann guerrillas. He claimed that there were only a few battalions of anti-Vietnamese guerrillas armed with small mortars, B-40 rocket propelled grenades and conventional weapons which were inadequate to defend the villages.

The spokesman also claimed that some Khmer civilians at Sok San who had fled the stronghold earlier had brought out samples of "yellow powder" dropped by the Vietnamese on their huts and handed it to international officials for analysis.

Captain Ophat Chamratsi, deputy chief of staff of marines at Trat Province Naval Base, told AP that the numbers of refugees had not yet been registered, but that they would be escorted back to Kampuchea when the present turmoil subsides.

Meanwhile, skirmishing was reported continuing yesterday north of Sokh Sann.

The Vietnamese attackers had also occupied a Khmer Rouge base two kilometres (1.3 miles) south of the Son Sann base Wednesday. Officials estimated its population at 3,000 civilians and guerrillas.

## AFP Report

BK210938 Hong Kong AFP in English 0918 GMT 21 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Bangkok, 21 Mar (AFP) -- Beleaguered forces of the anti-communist Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) have abandoned all the four villages of Sok San in southwest Cambodia in the face of a sustained Vietnamese attack, Western sources here said today.

Border reports could not confirm today whether the Vietnamese units had actually moved into Sok San Three and Four, or whether the Vietnamese had cut the route west from the two villages to the Thai border. Helicopters, however, had been spotted bringing supplies to the Vietnamese troops in Sok San One and Two.

Thai military sources said this morning that about 1,500 Vietnamese troops had taken part in the attack. But Western sources said they believed that far more Vietnamese soldiers had been thrown into the attack on Sok San. They said that it was unlikely that the 2,000 KPNLF guerrillas under Prum Vit would link up with the Khmer Rouge units to the north.

SRV TROOPS REPORTEDLY MASSED ON BORDER

BK230258 Bangkok NATION REVIEW in English 23 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] Trat -- About 3,000 Vietnamese troops yesterday massed on the border area opposite here after overrunning two strongholds of a Khmer resistance group, military sources reported.

A military officer said that the Vietnamese force was rallying on the Bantad Mountain range opposite the Thai village of Sokh San in Bor Rai district here. He said that the Vietnamese force had overrun two of the five villages under the influence of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) on the mountain range.

About 3,000 Khmer civilians, mostly women and children, fled the villages to the Thai area, east of Darn Chumpon village following the Vietnamese artillery and infantry attacks.

About 9,000 Khmer people live in the five villages which are controlled by resistance fighters of KPNLF led by former Kampuchean Prime Minister Son Sann.

The military officer said that the refugees who fled without possessions would be repatriated to their native villages after the fighting subsided. He said that Thai security forces had been posted on the border area opposite the fighting grounds on the Bantad Mountain.

The area was declared off-limits to people to prevent them from being injured or killed in possible spill-overs of fighting, according to the military officer. He said the military expected that the fighting which continued yesterday would escalate and become fiercer as the Vietnamese were trying to liquidate the Khmer strongholds.

COASTAL PROVINCE WARNS NOT TO ASSIST REFUGEES

BK230800 Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in Thai 1000 GMT 22 Mar 82

[Text] According to a report from Chumphon Province, an announcement has been issued to the public requesting their cooperation in blocking the arrival of refugees by boat.

It seems that refugees arriving by boat from Vietnam and the illegal immigrants from the LPDR are suspicious people, with some intending to seek refuge in third countries. Those people have fled into Thailand and are hiding among the border villagers without reporting themselves to the authorities. Some of them received help from the local people in exchange for money and other benefits. This constitutes a great danger to the national security. The authorities therefore appeal to all concerned government officials and the civilian people to cooperate with the government and try to stop the inflow of these illegal immigrants. They should inform the authorities if they become aware that anybody is helping the refugees or if they know their whereabouts. The refugees and those helping them will be dealt with in accordance with the B.E. 2522 Immigration Act.

Under Article 63 of the B.E. 2522 Immigration Act, anyone found to have violated the law by helping foreigners who have illegally entered the country will be subject to a maximum jail term of 10 years or a fine of not more than 100,000 baht. Under Article 64 of the same act, anyone who is aware of the presence of foreigners illegally entering the country and who lends assistance by hiding them in order to avoid arrest by the authorities will be subject to a maximum jail term of 5 years or a fine of not more than 50,000 baht. Any Vietnamese arriving in Thailand by boat will be arrested on charges of illegal entry and will be tried under the Immigration Act.



CPT FACTION SETS UP HEADQUARTERS IN LAOS

BK230222 Bangkok NATION REVIEW in English 23 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] Nakhon Phanom -- A new Marxist-Leninist communist party which has split from the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) has reportedly moved its headquarters from Vientiane to Pakkading in Laos with 20 military training schools recently set up opposite Thailand's northeastern borders, Thai Government intelligence sources here have reported.

Pakkading in Laos is located near Paksan, opposite Bungkarn district of Nong Khai Province.

Instructors at the new training schools for the new pro-Vietnamese Thai communist faction, known as "Pak Mai," are known to include Russians, Vietnamese, Thais and Laos, the intelligence officials said.

The first major new faction which split recently from the pro-China CPT was known to be "Pak Communist Siam" (Siam Communist Party), of which the most popular grouping was called "Thai Isarn Kuchart," now known as "Pak Mai," according to the intelligence officials.

The officials said that the main supporters of Pak Mai are members of the "Phu Thai" minority group who cross over the Thai-Lao border frequently.

One intelligence officer monitoring the new Thai communist faction said: "The Phu Thais are quite influential in Pak Mai. Three families of Phu Thais are known to be the main supporters of the new communist faction. The policy of Pak Mai, as some defectors have told us, is to put political and economic pressure on the government and use external forces, perhaps Vietnamese, to topple the government."

The intelligence reports also suggested that Pak Mai plans to infiltrate the urban areas among students, workers and farmers.

"Our reports have it that they plan to recruit about 80 to 100 core members in each province. One of their objective is to start an October 14, 1973-type of activity in the country," the officials said.

The official intelligence reports also said that Pak Mai's operating areas include Amphoe Don Tan, Pla Pak, Renoo Nakhmn, That Phanom, Nakae, Wan Yai, Dong Luang of Nakhon Phanom Province and certain areas in nearby Nong Khai Province, particularly Bungkam District which had traditionally been used as an infiltration point from the other side of the Mekong River by insurgents. The leaders of Pak Mai, according to the intelligence reports, include Thais, Vietnamese and Lao.

Thai intelligence officers have detected the name of a Vietnamese Nguyen Van Thach and a Laotian, Sali Vongkamsao, as among some of the Pak Mai leaders. Several Thai names have also been detected -- but the officials said they preferred to keep them confidential for the time being.

Informed observers said that the emergence of an anti-CPT party in the northeast could have resulted from the "vacuum" created by the gradual weakening of the CPT in the north-east. Official figures show that the number of armed and hard-core communist insurgents in the northeast, which was recorded at around 3,500 in 1975, had come down to about 1,900 last year. There were fluctuations during the period before 1981. In 1975, the number was estimated at 3,600, a strength which was maintained until 1978 when it went up slightly to 3,800 and up again to about 4,000 in 1979 before it dropped drastically to 3,300 in 1980.

LE DUAN TALKS AT VILLAGE ON COLLECTIVE MASTERY

OW230049 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 22 Mar 82

[From the press review for 22 March]

[Text] Today's issue of NHAN DAN prominently carries on page 2 a photo of party General Secretary Le Duan's visit to Thuy Tan village, Thai Thuy District, Thai Binh Province -- which has scored achievements in reclaiming swampy coastal areas for further expansion of the rush-growing area and in enhancing the people's living conditions -- and his talk on the issue of socialist collective mastery.

Comrade Le Duan said: Only under the system of socialist collective mastery can relations between society and the individual be properly resolved. Under that system, the right to collective mastery of the whole of Vietnamese society is established, while the individual's legitimate freedom are highly developed, the individual's creativity is promoted and harmony between the individual and society is achieved. It is erroneous to fail to notice and to resolutely rely on the superior strength of the whole community. It is equally wrong, however, to fail to perceive the legitimate nature and important, essential role of the individual. Combining society's collective with individuals and using the whole strength of the collective and the capability of each individual is the right direction for tapping all the potentials of our country, especially in the field of organization, use and management of the work force.

After pointing out that the essence of the system of socialist collective mastery is organically to coordinate rights and duties and vice versa, Comrade Le Duan stressed: To fully preserve the masses' interests and, at the same time, to fully develop the strength of collective mastery, this system must be simultaneously carried out in the three basic sectors: the nation, the locality and the grassroots unit. This is an objective requirement for society's survival.

Coordinating mastery on a national scale with mastery in each locality and each grassroots unit is to coordinate unified centralization with the expansion of democracy, to simultaneously avoid dispersion, division and concentrated bureaucracy, to be consistent with the production process while meeting the requirements of the system of socialist distribution. This means coordinating the strength of the whole country and the specific strength of each locality and unit. The constitution clauses dealing with the functions and tasks of the administrative levels should be made concrete and supplemented by policies on organization of production and economic and social management, on meeting the requirements of the people's lives, on successful construction of material-technical bases of socialism in order to fully manifest the system of collective mastery in three fundamental fields and to overcome duplication and obstacles existing among the central, local and grassroots levels. The system of collective mastery must be based on a new socialist economy. Without the material basis, which is a very great foundation of socialism, the system of socialist collective still lacks the conditions for its full materialization because, as Lenin said, the democratic level cannot surpass the level of economic development. Therefore, striving to build a new economy is the most important task of our people and of all administrative levels from the central down to the grassroots level. Along with developing the economy, the proletarian state must, step by step, build a new culture and a new type socialist man, considering them to be important motives for accelerating the socialist revolutionary undertaking.

JOURNAL REVIEWS HISTORY OF PARTY CONGRESSES

BK181520 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN No 2 in Vietnamese Feb 82, pp 21-29

[Article by Nguyen Van Phung: "From the Unified Conference for Founding the Party to the Fifth Party Congress" -- capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] It is not long before our country will witness an important political event -- the fifth national VCP Congress. The fifth party congress will review activities in all respects over the past 5 years and lay down the basic tasks and the socioeconomic targets to be fulfilled by the people throughout the country in the next 5 and 10 years. The fifth party congress will be a great landmark on the road toward building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Since its founding, the VCP has held four congresses. The party has gone through a historic stage spanning 51 years. The party has spent more than 90 percent of this time either operating illegally under various reactionary dictatorial regimes or working under the conditions of war. This fact accounts for why only four congresses were held by the party during its half a century of existence. This fact also demonstrates that most of the party's major guidelines and policies have been determined not only by national party congresses but also by VCP Central Committee plenums, and occasionally by the VCP Standing Committee and VCP Central Committee Political Bureau meetings. Not only have these meetings performed the function of substantiating the resolutions of various party congresses, but they have also performed the functions of a congress. That is what history has brought about. Although the party statutes do not stipulate these functions for the party Central Committee, revolutionary requirements have compelled the committee to shoulder this responsibility in order to meet the pressing demands of history.

The party's failure to hold regular congresses is an inevitable restriction during a time when it had to operate under clandestine and war conditions. This was a deficiency in our party's political activity. However, historical facts show that all guidelines and policies charted out at these congresses and meetings were very correct and led to many great victories of historic and epochal significance. In practice, our party has been able to draw many valuable lessons on how to overcome restrictions created by historical conditions and how to develop to the fullest the wisdom of the masses.

THE UNIFIED CONFERENCE TO FOUND THE PARTY was held on Kowloon peninsula, Hong Kong, from 3 to 7 February 1930 under the chairmanship of Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc. The conference was of the size of a congress and it actually performed the functions of a congress. The great historic significance of the role of the unified conference was that for the first time in our country's revolutionary history it formed a unified revolutionary vanguard brigade for the Vietnamese working class. The conference devised the initial tactics and strategem for the liberation of our people from colonial and feudal rule and for regaining independence and freedom on the road toward socialism. Although the conference's political and strategic program prepared by Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc was sketchy, it contained the basic orientations for the overall revolution, meeting various pressing demands in the revolutionary high tide which was, at that time, springing up in various areas throughout the country.

The unified conference to found the party marked a historic turning point in the history of the Vietnamese workers movement as well as in the national history of Vietnam. It also ended the long period of suffering when our country was engulfed in "darkness with no way out." The birth of the VCP opened a way out and brought about "an organization of revolutionaries" for our people. Many glorious pages have been added to history over the past half a century, but the most glorious was the success in creating "an upheaval" in the entire colonial and semi-feudal society, thus paving the way for the founding of an independent, free and unified Vietnam following the socialist path. With its unfading images, the turning point created by the unified conference in February 1930 will live forever in our people's memory. Directed by Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc -- a leader and organizer of genius -- in the first 5 days of the year of the horse [3-7 February 1930], the conference was able to fulfill its historic mission of unifying all communist organizations in the country under a correct revolutionary line -- the Marxist-Leninist line. The state of division and dispersion within the Vietnamese communist movement was then put to an end, and the heavy historical task entrusted to Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc by the international communist movement was then fulfilled outstandingly.

The first party Central Committee plenum held in October 1930 under the chairmanship of Comrade Tran Phu, first general secretary of the party was, in fact, considered as important as a congress. The plenum adopted the civil rights program of the bourgeois revolution (the political program) drafted by Comrade Tran Phu. This 1930 manifesto was the party's relatively perfect political program on the national democratic revolution. At the time when it was adopted by the party Central Committee alone and was waiting for the party congress' decision, the 1930 political program was authorized to be circulated merely as a draft document. In reality, however, it had already become an official document of the party and our revolutionary guiding banner in the entire process of the national democratic revolution.

The 1930 political program had a great influence on the party's line and policies during the national democratic revolution. The correct guidelines and creative standpoints specified in this manifesto were actually the link that connected one party congress of the party Central Committee plenum with another. Advancing the working-class-led revolution against imperialism and feudalism directly to socialism, using the workers and peasants as the main moving forces of the revolution, strengthening solidarity with the proletarian class in all oppressed countries, and making the party of the working class firm and strong were the basic spirit of the 1930 political program. Evaluating the historic significance of this political program, President Ho said: "Imbued with Marxism-Leninism, the party has been able to adopt a correct revolutionary line. In the 1930 civil rights program of the bourgeois revolution, the party pointed to the need TO STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND FEUDALISM, to achieve national independence, and to ensure that the tillers own the land. That program is consistent with the earnest aspirations of our people, who are mostly peasants. For this reason, the party has been able to rally all major revolutionary forces to its side. As for the parties of other classes, they have either gone bankrupt or been isolated. Thanks to this, the right to leadership of our party -- the party of the working class -- has been consolidated and strengthened constantly." (Footnote -- Ho Chi Minh "Selected Works: Thirty Years of the Party's Activities." Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, volume II, page 154)

The (3 February) unified conference to found the party and the party Central Committee's (October 1930) plenum paved the way and made necessary preparations for the first congress of party delegates. While preparations for this congress -- which would have been held in accordance with a decision of the party Central Committee's October 1930 plenum -- were being made, all the party Central Committee members were arrested by the French imperialists. Comrade Tran Phu, the leader of the party at that time, was killed.

It was not until nearly 4 years later -- on 27 March 1935 -- that the first party congress was held in Macao (China). Attending the congress were 13 delegates representing 600 party members who had been reorganized after 4 years of struggling against white terror and of restoring and developing the movement.

The historic role of the first party congress was to bring all party organizations in various areas throughout the country as well as those in Laos and Kampuchea, and 11 mass revolutionary movements under the unified leadership of the party Central Committee; and to prepare the battleground for a new revolutionary high tide. However, the congress failed to accurately review the experience gained by the party since its founding. It failed to adopt a political program and to keep itself informed of the new developments and potentials of the international revolutionary movement. That is why it was unable to point out changes that corresponded with the new situation. These deficiencies were eliminated in the summer of the year that followed when the resolutions of the seventh international communist congress and of the party Central Committee's July 1936 plenum were issued.

The period between the first party congress and the (1951) second party congress saw a series of important historic events occurring in our country:



During the period 1936-39, under the party leadership, a mass movement to struggle for democratic liberties, to oppose reactionary colonialism, to demand peace, and to oppose war erupted in various areas throughout the country, rallying the support of millions of people. The success of this democratic movement led to the emergence of a mass political force which prepared material bases and battlegrounds for the August 1945 revolution. This success testifies to the total correctness of the party's line which was determined by the party Central Committee in its plenums of March 1937 and March 1938. Firmly grasping the substance of the resolution of the seventh international communist congress, our party managed to apply the resolution creatively in the specific situation of our country. It devised many policies, measures and forms which were most suitable to the historic conditions at that time.

The victory of the August 1945 revolution was of historic and epochal significance. It was "an unprecedented change of life for every Vietnamese." This victory was gained at a time when the country was a semifeudal colony, with a small population and land area, which was thousands of kilometers away from the area of operation of the Soviet army and which had no regular revolutionary armed forces; and when the proletarian revolutions in the two "colonialist countries," namely, France and Japan, were still not crowned with victories.

The great victory of the August revolution was ascribed to the fighting spirit and the sacrifices of our entire population and to the effects of the victories scored by the Soviet people and army during World War II. However, the major factor that decided this victory was the party's correct line which was decided upon at the various party Central Committee plenums held in 1939, 1940 and 1941; at the party Central Standing Committee meetings held in February 1943 and March 1945; and at the national party congress held in Tan Trao in August 1945. This line consisted of considering national liberation as a primary task; directing the revolutionary spearhead against the imperialists and fascists; relying on the strength of the main worker-peasant force to motivate the entire people to rise up; quickly seizing opportunities and using the art of staging uprising skillfully; seeking to know and use the force of revolutionary properly and building a Marxist-Leninist party with a correct line applicable to reality; ensuring that all party organizations were compact and politically pure, were operating clandestinely and were of high quality, and were capable of taking root among the masses. All these were the manifestations of the clear-sighted collective wisdom of the party, particularly the party Central Committee and various local party organizations.

At the time when the victory of the August revolution was just achieved, our party was not in a good position to hold a party congress right away as many "tough" problems involving the survival of the people's national sovereignty were being posed to our party. How could we defend the newly-regained national sovereignty at a time when we did not have regular armed forces strong enough to defend it, when there was no international assistance, when the rear was not prepared yet and when we were faced with an enemy having material and technical bases many times stronger than ours? The party Central Committee, led by President Ho, with its 15 years of experience in directing the revolution and of learning experiences in the world and with the development of its collective wisdom, chose a way which was proved by history to be the most clear-sighted. This way consisted of motivating 25 million people to rise up to defend the revolutionary administration; carrying out the resistance while building forces in all respects in preparation for an inevitable war; and taking advantage of the differences in the enemy's internal ranks in a systematic manner by advocating forming a coalition government and promoting negotiations and the signing of agreements. These strategies were decided upon at the various meetings held by the party Central Standing Committee by the end of August 1945 and in November 1945 following its return to the capital; at the party Central Committee's plenum held in early March 1946 and at a conference of cadres held by the party Central Committee on 31 July 1946.



"When the French deliberately made war and when our restraint was exhausted, then the nationwide resistance began." (Footnote -- Collection of Ho Chi Minh's Works; Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980; volume 1, page 472) This observation by President Ho Chi Minh serves as an explanation of the inevitability of the nationwide resistance against the French colonialists which erupted in late December 1946. If the resistance was unavoidable, then how to fight it victoriously? We could neither wait for the holding of a party congress to solve such an urgent problem nor could we hold a party congress immediately at that time. This problem had been solved before the resistance erupted. On 18 December 1946 the party Central Standing Committee decided to stage a nationwide resistance. A directive issued on 22 December 1946 outlines a policy to conduct an all-people, all-out and protracted resistance on a self-support basis. Efforts were to be made to motivate 25 million people to rise up concertedly against the enemy; to turn "each village or hamlet and city ward into a fortress," and "each citizen into a soldier"; to carry out the resistance while building the new regime; to carry out combat missions while building combat forces; to find an appropriate fighting method; and to build the party while carrying out combat missions. This correct way reflects the most clear-sighted collective wisdom of our party at that time.

THE SECOND NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS OF DELEGATES was held in Tuyen Quang from 11 to 19 February 1951, 16 years after the first congress. The second congress met at a time when the anti-French war of resistance was recording big victories. On the battlefield, the offensive initiative belonged to our army. Our main forces were capable of completely wiping out powerful enemy task forces one by one. Tempered in combat, our party continued to develop; from a membership of 5,000 during the August revolution, its ranks swelled to 766,349 members by 1950.

The second party congress was required by history to lead the war of resistance to final victory and to reorganize the Indochinese Communist Party in such a way as to suit the new situation which was developing in each Indochinese country.

The congress responded to this requirement by advocating the organization of a Marxist-Leninist political party in each of the Indochinese countries. In Vietnam, the Vietnam Workers Party was founded. Some 4 months later, the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party was established in Kampuchea. Five years after that, the Lao People's Party was born in Laos (this name was later changed to the Lao People's Revolutionary Party). In March 1951, the alliance of the three Indochinese peoples was founded. The second party congress adopted a program for the advance of the national democratic revolution to socialism, a new party statute to replace the 1935 statute, and 12 major policies aimed at achieving total victory for the war of resistance. Thus, the second congress paved the way for the success of the 1953-54 winter-spring campaign and the Dien Bien Phu campaign.

The victory of the 9-year anti-French war of resistance, which culminated in the 1953-54 winter-spring campaign, led to the 1954 Geneva agreement, opening up a new period in our country. The basic characteristic of this new period was the fact that the northern half of the country was completely liberated from imperialist and feudal domination while the southern half temporarily remained under the rule of U.S. neocolonialism. How could the southern half of the country be liberated? How could the northern half be advanced to socialism? We faced many difficulties in trying to answer these questions. The people's national democratic revolution led by our party had gone on for 24 years (1930-54) and had scored big victories. The party had accumulated a great deal of rich experience in the quarter century of its existence. However, we still lacked experience in fighting against a new neocolonialist imperialist power, an imperialist chieftain with the most powerful economic and military potential in the imperialist camp: the United States. In the world, there had been no precedent of any new-style colony capable of defeating U.S. neocolonialism. This was a problem for our nation, especially our party, to resolve. History also posed another equally "tough," if not more difficult, question: Could one half of the country advance to socialism when the other half was not liberated yet? If the north should advance to socialism, should it coexist for a long time with neocolonialism in the south, or should the latter be abolished forthwith? Should socialist construction in the north be aimed mainly at bringing about civilization and happiness for our people there, or should it be directed toward creating conditions for completely liberating the south?

These questions were posed directly to our party, especially to the third party congress, which was scheduled to be held toward the end of the 50's. However, many events had taken place since 1954, many pressing demands had arisen, and many new international changes had occurred both in the capitalist and socialist systems, and in order to do anything at all in the postwar period, first of all we had immediately to heal the wounds of war. Life did not give us time to find a perfect solution, for we were overtaken by reality.

The third party congress could not be held as scheduled. The two questions raised in 1954, however, had been settled before the third party congress was convened. The problem of advancing the north to socialism was resolved in the 1956 conference of the Political Bureau and the 13th, 14th and 16th plenums of the second party Central Committee held in 1957, 1958, 1959 respectively. The correct policy adopted by these Political Bureau and Central Committee meetings resulted in the movement for agricultural and handicraft cooperativization and for the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade and small tradesmen in 1960. The problem of how to liberate the south in the new historical conditions was resolved in the 15th plenum of the party Central Committee held in 1959. The clear-sighted and sound policy adopted by this plenum resulted in the movement for "concerted uprisings" in the south from 1959 to 1960.

THE THIRD NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS OF DELEGATES was held in Hanoi capital from 5 to 10 September 1960. It was attended by more than 500 delegates representing more than 500,000 party members throughout the country. The congress decided on a perfect program for the socialist revolution in the north and the national democratic revolution in the south. It also adopted the guidelines and tasks of the First 5-Year Plan (1961-65), defined our country's foreign policy in the new stage, and adopted a new party statute to which were added a number of concrete points about the party's leading the administration.

The historic significance of the third party congress was that it succeeded in charting a correct path for our people throughout the country in the conditions of national partition, and in laying down two strategic tasks which were to be carried out simultaneously nationwide.

The great victory of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation proved our party's clear-sightedness in determining its strategic line as well as in using appropriate methods to liberated the south. This clear-sightedness was reflected mainly in the party holding fast to and effectively guiding the strategy of holding high the two banners of national independence and socialism at the same time, and in carrying out two revolutionary tasks simultaneously: The people's national democratic revolution in the south and the socialist revolution in the north. These two tasks were aimed at a common objective: To complete the national democratic revolution in the south, achieve national reunification and advance the entire country to socialism. This adroit strategy gave our people an unprecedently great aggregate strength. Combining this strength with that of the three revolutionary currents of our time was precisely the secret formula for defeating an enemy who was many times stronger than us materially. The dual-banner strategy was translated by the third party congress into concrete policies and tasks. The congress defined the role of each strategic task and the historic mission of the two parts of the country as follows: The people's national democratic revolution in the south would play a DECISIVE AND DIRECT role in the struggle to overthrow the domination of U.S. imperialism and its henchmen; and the socialist revolution in the north would be THE MOST DECISIVE task in the development of all the revolution in our country and in the cause of national reunification.

The clear-sightedness of the third party congress is reflected in the fact that it promptly devised a correct line having the character of objective law of the revolution in our country at the time. The two strategic tasks were carried out simultaneously, with each playing its own decisive role, but the role of the socialist revolution (in the north) was the most decisive. This is a law.

This law was applied to all lines and policies of the party in the two revolutions. It was reflected clearly in the affirmation by the 11th party Central Committee plenum (in 1965) that the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle was the primary task of our entire party and all our people and soldiers. In this direction, the north devoted to the national salvation and defense war the entire strength of the socialist system. The north fulfilled outstandingly its mission as the revolutionary baseground for the entire country and, together with the heroic southern frontline, completely defeated the U.S. aggressors. On the front of transforming and building the national economy, the north also scored great achievements, ensuring the people's lives and preparing conditions for the building of socialism throughout the country in the future.

The fact that the entire country was completely independent and unified and was advancing toward socialism is a fundamental characteristic of our country following the complete liberation of the south. What were the tasks for our people in the new situation? What were the basic requirements for the country after our people won the right to be masters of the entire country? In principle, a goal of building a civilized and happy life for the people was to be set forth immediately after the ruling yoke of imperialism and its lackeys was eliminated. This was a necessity and, at the same time, the earnest aspiration of all our people. Thus a socialist revolution throughout the country was essential. By what way did the country advance to socialism in conformity with the characteristics of our country? This question was raised at the fourth party congress, and it was initially answered at the 24th party Central Committee plenum (3d tenure).

THE FOURTH PARTY NATIONAL CONGRESS was held in the capital of Hanoi from 14 to 20 December 1976. Attending the congress were more than 1,000 delegates representing more than 1.5 million party members throughout the country. It approved a perfected program on building socialism throughout the country, beginning with the Second 5-Year Plan, 1976-80. The soul of the programme was the question of socialist industrialization and socialist collective mastery. The congress paid great attention to the question of consolidation of national defense. It decided to change the party's name to the Vietnam Communist Party.

New historical conditions emerged more prominently in the wake of the fourth party congress. The question of consolidation of national defense and maintenance of national security was raised even more seriously. The Beijing ruling circles' strategy of weakening and annexing the three Indochinese countries was known before the fourth party congress was held, but it became conspicuous after 1978. This strategy is in collusion with the U.S. strategy which consists of finding a way out of the economic crisis, regaining the lost military supremacy, concentrating forces on counterattacking the three revolutionary currents and spearheading primarily at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

From covert to overt betrayal, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists intended to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees with the launching of two strategic attacks, one from the south and the other from the north. To defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity, we were determined not to let them encroach on or undermine our independence which we had won with the flesh and blood of millions of our compatriots and soldiers over the past century and more. The most prominent event after the fourth party congress was our people's victory in the two wars of aggression masterminded and directly waged by the Chinese expansionists. Despite their humiliating defeat in these two wars, the Chinese expansionists still refuse to learn a lesson. They still nurture the design to annex Vietnam and the rest of the Indochinese Peninsula in the hope of paving the way for the realization of their dream of expansion and hegemony over Southeast Asia. At present, in coordination with and assisted by various U.S. bellicose forces, they are carrying out a multifaceted war of sabotage against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. This type of war has caused great difficulties to our people in carrying out the socialist construction program set forth by the fourth party congress, thus making it impossible for us to fulfill many planned norms.

We should have the courage to look straight into the shortcomings and errors of various party and state organizations in economic and social management. These shortcomings have prolonged the difficulties and caused imbalances in many respects. We should grimly uncover our weaknesses so that guidelines can be adopted seriously for corrective action.

However, to make an objective assessment, we must consider the economic situation on the basis of the general conditions in our country, and must take into account our difficulties in all respects, including difficulties caused by our shortcomings.

In overcoming the great and accumulated difficulties, over the past 5 years we have advanced the Vietnamese revolution to a new strategic position, thus creating many unprecedentedly great potentials for national defense and socialist construction. We have succeeded in unifying the country in all respects, in establishing the system of proletarian dictatorship throughout the country, in defeating the two wars of aggression waged by the Beijing expansionists, in strengthening the strategic alliance among the three Indochinese countries and between our country, the Soviet Union and the socialist community, and in overcoming the damage caused by the wars of aggression waged by the United States and the Chinese expansionists, thus promptly solving all urgent economic and social problems, overcoming famine, and initially improving the livelihood of the people in many rural areas. Additionally, we have been able to carry out socialist transformation in the South, and create new forces to make progress in all fields. These achievements testify to the heroic nature of our people and to the correctness of the general line and the economic line set forth by the fourth party congress.

We have many shortcomings. Our major shortcoming, however, is reflected in the way we concretize our line and the way we organize and guide its implementation.

The experience we have derived from our great victories in the past shows that the general line must be concretized right in the process of defining specific objectives for each short period, each field of work and each locality; and these objectives must be promptly amended and adjusted when the actual situation changes.

The historic experience of our country's revolution under the party's leadership also shows that if a line is to be concretized and fully implemented, the contingent of cadres must hold fast to and adroitly apply the law, and must be in firm control of the actual situation and have an adequate knowledge of the problems it has to resolve. All these qualities can be acquired only with time and through persistent efforts.

Our people still face many difficulties. To overcome them, we must firmly follow the path which has been proved correct by reality. This is the path chartered by the fourth party congress: The path of the working people's collective mastery and of national socialist industrialization. Realities over the past 5 years prove that our party has promptly detected complex developments in the situation, that it has adopted firm and judicious strategic positions, and that it has decided to take the right direction at crucial moments of the revolution. These firm strategic positions and correct directions stem from the line of the fourth party congress. These are also matters of principle of our country's revolution in the conditions of its advance to socialism from a small-scale production system and in the concrete conditions of the current international situation.

The new period imposes on our party and people extremely great, complex and weighty tasks. Our people, however, are fully capable of successfully achieving these tasks. We have overcome the initial difficulties in the new period. We now have a more profound understanding of our country and our people, a thorough knowledge of our enemy and the obstacles on our path, and a fuller perception of our strengths and weaknesses. We also have drawn useful lessons from the practice of socialist construction and national defense over the past 5 years.

These are new equipment for our entire party, people and army in the new struggle which, although replete with difficulties and hardships, is bound to be victorious.



VNA SUMMARIZES HISTORY OF PARTY SINCE FOUNDING

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[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 22 -- On the occasion of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, we publish the following summary of the party history since its founding on February 3, 1930:

The Birth of the Communist Party of Vietnam

With the French occupation, Vietnam, in 1858, became a semi-feudal colony. The society was fraught with two basic contradictions, which became sharper every day -- the contradiction between the Vietnamese nation and aggressive imperialism, and the contradiction between the people, especially the peasantry, and the class of feudal landlords.

Many times the Vietnamese people rose up in arms against the French imperialist aggressors, but they failed in each attempt. Not until the appearance of the Vietnamese working class on the political scene and its taking charge of leadership to revolution was a way found to struggle for national liberation. An orientation crisis has thus lasted more than seventy years in the Vietnamese revolution.

It was Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969) who discovered the right path for the working class, the labouring people and the nation. By espousing Marxism-Leninism he found the only correct way to save his country -- the road of proletarian revolution, the road of the Russian October Revolution. His joining the French Communist Party in 1920 made him the first communist of Vietnam.

From 1921 through 1929 Ho Chi Minh waged a tireless struggle to disseminate Marxism-Leninism among workers' peasants, the labouring people, and other Vietnamese patriots while actively preparing for the formation of a Vietnamese Communist Party.

He helped found the Inter-Colonial Union in Paris (1921), joined the study group on colonial questions under the French Communist Party, published the paper LE PATRIA, and wrote "French Colonialism on Trial." Ho Chi Minh participated in the congress of the Peasant International in Moscow and was elected to the Presidium of the organization's Executive Committee (1923), and attended the Fifth Congress of the Communist International (1924). As member of the Eastern Department of the Communist International Executive Committee he assisted in guiding and organizing revolutionary and communist movements in Southeast Asian countries. He joined in founding the union of oppressed peoples in eastern Asia of which he was secretary. In 1925 he founded the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League in which Communists formed the core of leadership. He also published the paper YOUTH, wrote the pamphlet "The Road of Revolution," and opened several courses to train hundreds of cadres for the revolution at home. Ho Chi Minh personally nominated Vietnamese students to be sent to the communist University of the Working People of the East (U.S.S.R.). Among these was Tran Phu, later general secretary of the party.

Thanks to the very dynamic activities of Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League, which by 1929 had set up branches in all parts of the country with a membership of 1,700, the revolutionary movement surged vigorously among both the workers and peasants, in both the towns and the countryside. The first communist cell was founded in Hanoi, in March 1929. Later that year and early in 1930 three different communist organizations appeared in the country, the first two having 500 members and 40 cells.

Ho Chi Minh, on behalf of the Communist International, unified the various communist forces of Vietnam in a single communist party. He presided over the historic founding congress of the party on March 2, 1930. Thus was born the Communist Party of Vietnam, with its brief platform, strategy and statutes adopted at the same congress. The platform and strategy were later developed into the political thesis drafted by Tran Phu and adopted by the Central Committee during a meeting in October 1930.



The thesis, as the banner of people's national democratic revolution in Vietnam, advocated anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution to wrest back national independence and distribute land to the tillers, to be led by the working class and to ascend directly to socialism, by-passing capitalist development.

The birth of the party was a decisive turning-point for the Vietnamese revolution. It opened for the working class and the nation as a whole the road to glorious victories.

In Laos, the first party cells were set up in Vientiane, Thakhet and Bo Neng in April 1930. In Kampuchea a number of communist groups appeared in Phnom Penh and Kompong Cham in early 1930.

#### Party Leadership in Seizing Power, the August Revolution in 1945 (1930-1945)

##### The Revolutionary Upsurge in 1930-1931 and the Nghe Tinh Soviet

Under the leadership of the nascent Communist Party of Vietnam, later the Indochinese Communist Party, a revolutionary upsurge took place in the whole country. From February 1930 through April 1931 there were 1,236 strikes by workers and peasants against terror and imperialist war, for democracy and welfare, in support of the Soviet Union and the national liberation movement. Some of the factory strikes involved up to four or five thousand people. Dozens of strikes and demonstrations were also organized at schools and markets.

Of special significance were the provinces of Nghe An and Ha Tinh, which from February 1930 through October 1931 saw as many as 439 strikes by workers and peasants, with the participation of more than 337,000 people. In many districts peasants staged armed demonstrations during which they set fire to district offices and documents therein and broke into jails to free political prisoners. Led by party cells, peasants associations took charge of political, economic and social affairs in the countryside in the manner of Soviet power in Russia.

The 1930-1931 upsurge and the Nghe Tinh Soviet assumed great historical significance. The leadership of the working class represented by the Communist Party was affirmed, and an alliance between workers and peasants was sealed. The strategic slogans "national independence" and "land to the tillers" were a great inspiration to the masses.

On April 11, 1931, the Indochinese Communist Party was recognized by the Communist International Executive Committee as an independent section directly reporting to the International.

The period from 1932 to 1935 saw the party's leadership to the struggle against white terror and to restore and develop the movement.

Stung to the quick, the French imperialists and their henchmen cracked down on the movement with utter ruthlessness. From mid-1931 to mid-1932 most of the Central Committee members and sector executives were arrested. Many of them died. Ho Chi Minh was apprehended in Hong Kong by the British imperialists, who were working hand in glove with the French colonialists. In the summer of 1933, after his release, he went to the Soviet Union. Meanwhile in the country, grassroots organizations were disintegrating and prisons were packed with revolutionaries. The enemy, in addition to downright repression, resorted to demagoguery to deceive the masses. At the same time bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political tendencies were given free rein in order to sway the masses and undermine the movement. In this connection mention should be made of the activities of the nationalists and the Trotskyists.

The party led a resolute struggle against repression and the schemes of the enemy and different reactionary forces. In certain areas the party remained in close contact with the masses, and the movement, despite a temporary lull from mid-1931, was never entirely interrupted.

Prisons were used as schools for party members to conduct political education and to wage an ideological struggle with the enemy, and as contact points to keep in touch with the masses. Prisoners also geared their activities to actions being taken outside too, thus giving rise to a high mettle and inspiring other party members and the masses as a whole in their advance.

In June 1932 the Central Committee drafted the party programme and made plans for the implementation of the line charted by the 1930 political thesis in the context of the new situation. The programme, upholding the revolutionary banner put up by the party, enabled the movement to recuperate quickly.

Many workers' struggles broke out in the years 1932, 1933 and 1934. Many party organisations used the legal forms of struggle to rally the masses. In those difficult years the revolutionary movement in Vietnam benefited from the wholehearted assistance of the Comintern and the fraternal communist parties.

In March 1935 the first national congress of the party was held in Macao (China), with the participation of 15 delegates. The congress laid down three tasks: To consolidate and develop the party, to win the broad masses of the people to the party, and to oppose the imperialist war. After the congress the movement was quickly restored and continued to develop vigorously.

In the Period From 1936 to 1939, Party Leadership in the Movement for Democracy, Against the Colonial Reactionaries and Their Agents, Against Fascism and War, and for Freedom, a Better Life and Peace

In July 1936, in execution of a resolution of the 7th Congress of the Comintern and in the light of the situation in the country, Comrade Le Hong Phong, alternate member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in charge of the affairs of the party from 1932 1937, convened a plenum of the party Central Committee to work out the new task of the party. The conference pointed out that the immediate and direct task of the Vietnamese revolution was to oppose the colonial reactionaries, henchmen of fascism and to struggle for freedom, democratic freedoms, a better life and peace. The conference decided to form the broad democratic front in order to rally all forces standing for democratic and progressive reforms, and to make use of all available forms and methods of struggle to push the mass movement forward.

A new revolutionary high tide surged up throughout the country beginning with the movement to demand the convening of the Indochinese congress. Workers, peasants and other strata of the population stirringly took part in the struggle in very varied forms, from legal to semilegal and illegal. In 1937 there were more than 400 workers' actions with 120,000 persons taking part and 150 peasant struggles with 30,000 persons taking part. The legal press of the party and the front came out regularly, 25,000 people attended the May Day celebration in Hanoi in 1938. This was a major action of the masses under the direct leadership of the political party of the proletariat.

The plenum of the Central Committee in March 1938 confirmed the great successes already obtained, corrected the "leftist" deviations, decided to consolidate the party, and to closely combine legal and underground activities. The conference elected Nguyen Van Cu general secretary of the party.

In March 1939 the party issued a manifesto pointing to the approaching fascist danger and calling for united actions for democratic freedoms and against war, elimination of the Trotskyites and support for the candidates of the democratic front.

#### Party Leadership in the General Uprising To Seize Power (1939-1945)

The Second World War broke out. In November 1939, the Central Committee plenum pointed out that to liberate the nation was the foremost task of the Indochinese revolution and decided to form the national anti-imperialist united front of Indochina.

France was defeated. The Japanese occupied Indochina. In September 1940 the Bac Son insurrection broke out followed by the Nam Ky (Cochinchina) uprising in November of the same year. Then in January 1941, a mutiny took place in Do Luong, Nghe An Province. Those were as many harbingers of the period when the entire people would rise up to overthrow the aggressors and traitors to regain independence and freedom. In November 1940 the Central Committee plenum laid down the immediate task for the party to lead the Indochinese peoples in preparing for the armed uprising. The conference appointed Truong Chinh acting secretary of the party Central Committee.

On February 8, 1941, Comrade Ho Chi Minh returned to the country to directly lead the revolution.

In May 1941 a Central Committee plenum was convened and presided over by Comrade Ho Chi Minh. The conference decided that the immediate revolution was the national liberation revolution and the revolutionary forces of the nation should spearhead their struggle at the Japanese and French fascist aggressors. The conference decided to form the Vietnam League for Independence (Viet Minh) and carried out a very flexible policy of national union aimed at rallying all the national forces to save the country and liberate the country. At the same time, the Viet Minh also decided to help the Lao people set up the League for the Independence of Ai Lao (Laos) and to help the Kampuchean people set up the League for the Independence of Kampuchea in order jointly to drive away the common enemies of the three nations, who were the Japanese and French imperialists. The conference also decided that when the opportunity came, "with our existing forces we might lead partial uprisings in different localities and could win success, opening the way for a major general insurrection." The conference elected Comrade Truong Chinh general secretary of the party.

Under the leadership of the party and acting along the program of the Viet Minh, which conformed with the aspiration of the masses, the revolutionary movement quickly gained in strength. The newly formed associations for national salvation expanded their memberships rapidly. The movement to build the armed forces and the revolutionary bases and to prepare for the armed uprising was pushed ahead. In December 1944 Comrade Ho Chi Minh ordered the founding of the Vietnam Armed Propaganda Liberation Group, of which the organisation and leadership was assumed by Comrade Vo Nguyen Giap.

In March 1945 the Japanese staged a coup d'etat and overthrew the French. The party Central Committee put forth the slogan "Drive out the Japanese fascists" and launched a broad and strong movement to oppose the Japanese and save the country, while making urgent preparations for the general uprising to seize power. Partial uprisings broke out in several places. When the Second World War entered its final stage and the Soviet Union had completely defeated the Japanese and forced them to surrender (August 15, 1945) the party decided that the "once-in-a-thousand-years chance" had come and led the entire people to rise up in general insurrection to seize power. On August 19, 1945, the general uprising was successful in the capital city. On September 2, 1945, President Ho Chi Minh on behalf of the provisional government read the declaration of independence, proclaiming the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Party Leadership in the Resistance Against the French Colonialist Aggressors (1945-1954)

From September 1945 to December 1946 the party led the struggle to defend and consolidate the revolutionary power, build the new regime and prepare for the nationwide resistance.

Immediately after its inception the revolutionary power had to cope with piling difficulties in all fields, political, economic and social. In the north 200,000 troops of the Chiang Kai-shek army came to relieve the Japanese, taking along a bunch of Vietnamese traitors. In the south the French colonialists, assisted by the British imperialists, on September 23, 1945, opened fire and occupied Saigon, then broadened the war to the whole of South Vietnam.

President Ho Chi Minh, on behalf of the Central Committee, put forth six urgent tasks which he later summed up in the three following major tasks: to fight against famine, to fight against illiteracy and to fight against foreign aggression. The party Central Committee, for its part, issued an order for national resistance and national construction, stressing the task of consolidating the revolutionary power. A movement to increase food production and combat famine was launched. The revolutionary power also confiscated the lands of the French colonialists and Vietnamese traitors to distribute to the peasants, ordered a 25-percent reduction of land rent and enforced the eight-hour workday, etc. In early 1946 the first national general elections were held and the resulting National Assembly adopted the first constitution (November 9, 1946). In May 1946 the Vietnam National Union Front was founded.

The party and President Ho were particularly concerned with the resistance in the south and urged the people throughout the country to side with the population in the south in stepping up the resistance. On the other hand, the party adopted wise measures and policies to isolate the Chiang Kai-shek troops and finally succeeded in getting them out of the country in order to concentrate efforts on the main enemy at the time, who was the French colonialist aggressors.

On March 6, 1946, the Vietnamese Government signed with France the modus vivendi whereby France recognized Vietnam as a free country with its own government, parliament, army and finance. But right afterward France trampled on its own signature.

Taking advantage of the temporary lull, we endeavoured to consolidate and develop our forces in all fields and accumulated valuable experiences.

Party Leadership in the Nation-Wide Resistance War Against the French Colonialist Aggressors (December 19, 1946-July 1954)

Betraying their commitment, the French colonialists conducted provocations everywhere, and in fact had begun an aggressive war against Vietnam on a national scale. On December 19, 1946, the Vietnamese people's nation-wide resistance war broke out.

The Standing Board of the party Central Committee met on December 18-19, 1946, under the chairmanship of President Ho Chi Minh and worked out the basic line and orientation for the resistance war. On December 20, 1946, President Ho Chi Minh issued an appeal to the entire people stressing that "we rather sacrifice all than lose our country and accept slavery".

The party Central Committee issued the directive about the national resistance war, clearly determining the objectives of the resistance war as independence and national reunification and its basic guideline as a national, allround, long term and self-reliant resistance. The party's line and policy for the resistance war were clearly expounded in the book "The Resistance Will Win" by Truong Chinh, published in early 1947, and were concretized, supplemented and perfected at the party Central Committee's meetings in the following years.

Under the correct leadership of the party and President Ho Chi Minh, the entire Vietnamese people rose up and fought courageously and won initial victories right at the beginning of the war. In late 1947 the enemy sprang an offensive on the Viet Bac (Northern Vietnam) resistance zone in an attempt to destroy the leadership of the resistance but suffered a heavy defeat. In the following years the resistance war intensified and recorded new and major successes in all fields, military, political, economic and cultural, at both the front-line and behind enemy lines. The enemy had to switch its strategy from "lightning attack and rapid victory" to consolidation of the occupied areas and was forced to fight a protracted war of attrition.

In early 1950 the Soviet Union and other people's democracies formally established diplomatic relations with Vietnam. In the summer of the same year, the Standing Board of the party Central Committee decided to open the border campaign.



President Ho Chi Minh personally went to the front. The campaign was victorious, the Viet Bac resistance zone was consolidated and expanded, and the encirclement imposed by the imperialists was broken. The situation of the war was reversed: We repeatedly launched major offensives and the enemy was forced into a defensive posture.

In this period the Kampuchean and Lao peoples also recorded many important victories in their own wars of resistance.

On the rush of victory, the party held its second national congress in mid-February 1951 with the participation of 158 full and 53 standby delegates elected by more than 760,000 members of the party's organizations in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The congress heard a political report presented by President Ho Chi Minh and a report "On the Vietnamese Revolution" presented by Comrade Truong Chinh and adopted the party's manifesto, political programme and constitution. The congress determined the line of the national people's democratic revolution and laid down the main task of the revolution of taking the resistance to complete victory. The congress decided that the party resumed its open activity and renamed the party the Vietnam Workers' Party. It elected a new party Central Committee with Comrade Ho Chi Minh as its president and Comrade Truong Chinh as its general-secretary. Regarding Laos and Kampuchea, the congress decided to organize a revolutionary party in each country in conformity with the characteristics of the situation there.

Following the second party congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums, the resistance developed vigorously, winning major victories on all battlefields: in the Hoa Binh campaign (1952) and Tay Bac (northwestern Vietnam) campaign (1953), in the Red River Delta, in the Fifth Resistance Zone (central Vietnam), on the Central Highlands and in the Mekong Delta. The Lao revolution also won resounding victories, particularly in upper Laos.

In order to replenish the resistance forces, step up the resistance and carry out the task of the people's national-democratic revolution, the fourth Central Committee plenum, held in January 1953, decided on the land reform to realize the slogan "land to the tillers". Later the fifth Central Committee plenum, held in November 1953, adopted a land programme, the party's line for the rural areas and the guideline and policy for the land reform. The major successes of the land reform made very important contributions to the history of the resistance. Tens of millions of peasants, under the party's leadership, vigorously rose in an earth-shaking movement to smash the feudal and colonial yoke.

In 1953 the resistance forces broadened in all fields. The People's Army was already capable of launching major offensives while the local armies and guerillas were very active at both the frontline and in enemy-held areas. The rear bases were consolidated. Meanwhile, the French colonialists met with many difficulties, material and moral, strategic and tactical although their force, including French and mercenary troops, totalled 500,000 at its peak. Most of France's war budget was supplied by the United States, which, following its defeat in Korea, was trying to intensify its intervention in Indochina.

In September 1953 the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee decided to wage a strategic winter-spring offensive in 1953-54 with the main blow aimed at the enemy forces in the north-west. In all the three zones of the country, the Vietnamese people's armed forces stepped up the war of attrition and annihilation and held major enemy forces in a defensive posture. When the enemy concentrated a big force including its most seasoned units on Dien Bien Phu in an attempt to turn this area into an important strategic base of France and the U.S. in Southeast Asia, the party Central Committee's Political Bureau decided to open the Dien Bien Phu campaign (early December 1953). The campaign won complete victory after 55 days and nights of fierce fighting (March 13, 1954-May 7, 1954), and victoriously ending the winter-spring offensive, wiping out or disbanding 112,000 enemy troops, or one-fourth of the total French forces at that time.



In Laos, more than half of the land area and about half of the population were liberated. In Kampuchea, the Issarak Liberation Army liberated about two-thirds of the land area, and on June 19, 1954, the Kampuchean resistance government was set up.

The success of almost nine years of resistance, the success of the winter-spring offensive and particularly, the victory of the Dien Bien Phu battle forced the French Government to sign the Geneva agreements on Indochina, under which France and other participating countries committed themselves to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. France also had to agree to a ceasefire and withdraw its troops. Due to the selfish ulterior motives of the Chinese leaders, who had secretly compromised with the imperialists, the Geneva agreement did not bring about results commensurate with our victories on the battlefield. Nevertheless, the French old-type colonialist war of aggression ended in failure, and French imperialism, a major colonial power, was defeated by a small and weak colony.

In July 1954 the party Central Committee held its sixth plenum, which decided to "consolidate peace, achieve national reunification and complete independence and democracy in the whole country."

Party Leadership in the Realization of the Two Strategies: Socialist Revolution in the North and National People's Democratic Revolution in the South; Party Leadership in Completing the Land Reform and Rehabilitating the Economy in the North (1954-1959).

These tasks were worked out at conference of the party Central Committee's Political Bureau in September 1954. The land reform was completed in the delta and mid-land areas in the summer of 1956. In the mountain areas this reform was carried out through the "movement for agricultural cooperation and development combined with the completion of democratic reforms". The tenth Central Committee plenum, held in September 1956, affirmed the success of the land reform, reviewed the efforts in its implementation and worked out measures to correct them.

Economic rehabilitation was basically completed in late 1957 when industrial and agricultural gross output had almost attained the level before World War Two (1939) and the imperialists' prerogatives economy and other areas had been abolished. The people's life had seen initial improvement. The proletarian dictatorship and the party's leadership were strengthened.

Party Leadership in Socialist Transformation and Initial Economic and Cultural Development in the North (1958-1960)

After the 13th plenum (December 1957) of the Central Committee laid down many measures to educate party cadres and members and the entire people in socialist ideology and to overcome the vague conception about the relationship between the task of continuing socialist revolution in the north and the task of liberating the south, the 14th plenum (November 1958) decided to push ahead socialist transformation while developing the state sector as the leading sector of the national economy. The 16th plenum adopted a resolution on agricultural cooperation and transformation of private capitalist industry and trade in the north. All these policies received warm welcome from the masses, who made them the goals of broad and stirring revolutionary movements. However, the struggle between the two paths became quite arduous in certain areas and at certain times. Agricultural transformation through the forming of low-level cooperatives in the northern countryside basically completed in late 1960, involving more than 85 percent of peasant households with more than 68 percent of the rice acreage. In the towns almost 100 percent of the capitalist families engaged in industry, trade, transport... underwent socialist transformation; 260,000 handicraftsmen joined cooperatives; accounting for 87.9 percent of the total.

Along with the successful transformation of the relations of production, the targets under the three-year plan for agricultural and industrial production and cultural and medical development was also met.

On December 31, 1959, a new constitution, the first socialist constitution, was adopted by the National Assembly.

Party Leadership in the Struggle for Preserving the Revolutionary Forces in the South and the Concerted Uprising Movement (1954-1960)

Clearly conscious that the U.S. imperialists were the main obstacle to the restoration of peace and national reunification and in face of the enemy's fascist acts aimed at destroying the revolutionary forces and undermining the Geneva agreements, the party's Political Bureau decided to launch a political struggle. The instruction made it clear that this did not mean to refrain from acts of armed self-defence in given circumstances and that it was necessary to strengthen the military and para-military forces, to build rear areas and firm mass bases, considering this as the fundamental condition for preserving and developing the revolutionary forces (October 1956 resolution). Comrade Le Duan, member of the Political Bureau in charge of the party's organization in the south, pointed out that the road to liberate the south must be a revolutionary one.

The party led the southern people in a persistent struggle against the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique, to zealously participate in the political struggle while making every effort to preserve the revolutionary forces and to destroy enemy spies and agents. The enemy launched a campaign of bloody persecution, inflicting heavy losses on the revolutionary forces. But the population continued to surge ahead with high revolutionary mettle. In many places the population rose up in a combined political and armed struggle.

In January 1959 the Central Committee 15th plenum reasserted the task of liberating the south and stressed that the basic trend of development of the Vietnamese revolution in the south is one of violence. In the light of that resolution, a stormy concerted rising movement surged up throughout the south. People rose up to kill cruel agents of the enemy, surrounded and stormed military posts, captured enemy weapons, disrupting by big chunks the enemy's ruling machine in the countryside, and seized power in many large areas in both the mountain and delta areas. Many armed units were formed.

The National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam was founded. The revolution switched from a defensive position to a position of vigorous offensive.

The Third National Congress of the Party, Fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan, Defeat of the U.S. Imperialists' "Special War" Strategy (1961-1965)

The party's third congress, held on September 5-10, 1960, was attended by 500 representatives of more than 500,000 party members throughout the country. This was the "congress for building socialism in the north and struggling for peaceful national reunification". The congress heard a political report delivered by Le Duan, party general secretary since 1957, pointing to the two strategic tasks of the revolution throughout the country, namely, to push ahead socialist revolution in the north and the people's national democratic revolution in the south.

The congress adopted the orientation and tasks of the first five-year plan (1961-1965) and a new party constitution. It elected a new Central Committee. Comrade Ho Chi Minh was re-elected chairman of the Central Committee, and Comrade Le Duan was elected first secretary of the Central Committee.

After the congress the implementation of the five-year plan yielded many successes. By 1965 the north already had enough food and many new industrial services had been created, producing 90 percent of the needs in consumer goods. By late 1965, 80 percent of the agricultural co-operatives had become fully socialist co-operatives... North Vietnam became the steady rear base for the revolution of the whole country.

In the south panicked by the people's revolutionary movement, the U.S.-Diem clique launched a "special war", pitting Vietnamese against Vietnamese and relying mainly on the puppet army and administration and the system of "strategic hamlets". They intended to use this type of war to quench the revolution in the south and also as a test of the "special war" strategy for application in other places where U.S. neo-colonialism wanted to impose its control. However the revolution in the south had completely defeated that strategy. On August 5, 1964, the U.S. imperialists started its air bombing of North Vietnam.

Party Leadership in Defeating the U.S. "Local War" Strategy in the South and Its First War of Destruction; Continued Socialist Construction in the North (1965-1968)

The U.S. imperialists switched over to applying the "local war" strategy by means of two strategic forces, U.S. troops and the puppet army. In late 1965 they massively sent to the south 200,000 troops of the U.S. and its satellite countries.

The 11th Central Committee plenum (March 1965) and the 12th plenum (Dec. 1965) made a deep study of the overall situation and decided to mobilize the entire party, army and people to "defeat the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war in any eventuality". The subsequent resolutions of the party C.C. further indicated many concrete tasks to carry out the resistance war in both the south and the north and to cope with the eventual expansion of the "local war" to the whole country.

U.S. forces were intercepted repeatedly right after they set foot on South Vietnam. The movement to "destroy the Yankee aggressors" rose ever higher. After the dry seasons of 1965-1966 and 1966-1967, the failure of the U.S. war of aggression was a foregone conclusion even though by the end of 1967 half a million U.S. troops had been brought to South Vietnam. The enemy lost big segments of its forces and failed to put down the Vietnamese people's resistance war. For their part, the revolutionary forces developed strongly and took the initiative in annihilating the enemy on all battlefronts. Meanwhile, the people's political movement against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen unfolded stirringly in both the urban and rural areas, created chaos in their rear bases and provided favourable conditions for the operation of the revolutionary armed forces.

In the north the U.S. imperialists mobilized a big air and naval force for a frenzied war of destruction, considering it a part of their aggressive war strategy in the south in an attempt to ward off complete defeat. However, the northern people, tiding over all sacrifices and hardships, brought the U.S. barbarous war of destruction to failure. Meanwhile, bringing into play the absolute supremacy of the socialist regime, they made every effort to supply manpower and material resources to the south -- the great frontline -- while continuing socialist construction right under enemy bombing. The emulation drive to resist U.S. aggression for national salvation and to carry out simultaneously production and fighting developed powerfully, drawing all strata of the population.

In January 1967 the Central Committee held its 13th plenum, deciding to step up the struggle on the diplomatic front and to take the initiative in attacking the enemy on international forums in service of the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. In January 1968 the 14th plenum, in a new effort to step up the resistance war, decided to launch the resoundingly victorious strategic Tet offensive. The U.S. imperialists, heavily defeated, were forced to unconditionally stop the bombing and to begin the peace talks in Paris in late 1968.

From 1969 to 1972 Party Leadership in Economic Rehabilitation in the North, in Defeating the "Vietnamization" Strategy in the South, and in Defeating the Second U.S. War of Destruction in the North

After the first U.S. war of destruction, the party led the people to restore the economy in order to meet the needs of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation, to ensure their well-being and build and defend the material and technical foundations of socialism.

On September 3, 1969, President Ho Chi Minh passed away. In his historic last testament he says that "our entire party and people, closely joining their efforts, will build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution." In their immense grief, the Vietnamese people were determined to turn sorrow into revolutionary actions, to march steadily forward, and continue the president's great cause.

In the south the enemy accelerated the "Vietnamization" strategy by launching a frantic "pacification" campaign, causing many difficulties to the revolutionary forces, especially in those areas where vigilance was slack. However, following our victory of Highway 9-southern Laos in early 1971, the Political Bureau decided to launch a strategic offensive in 1972 to thwart the "Vietnamization" strategy.

In early 1972 Nixon was given a warm welcome by the Chinese authorities in Beijing. The two sides signed the Shanghai communique, agreeing, among other things, on U.S. withdrawal from Taiwan in exchange for Chinese assistance in maintaining the Thieu administration in South Vietnam. Soon after that the U.S. imperialists resumed their war of destruction, attacking North Vietnam with great violence. Seeing clearly the enemy's scheme, the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee pointed out in its June 1, 1972, resolution: "Our people must remain firm and highly vigilant and be prepared to fight and win under all circumstances".

On the battlefield, the revolutionary armed forces were winning repeatedly. The U.S. imperialists not only sustained heavy military defeats but also were strongly condemned by the world people including the American people. On the other hand, they were facing many political, economic and social problems at home. Meanwhile, the peace-loving world was giving its support to the Vietnamese people.

Having failed in covering the Vietnamese people with the B-52 bombings in Hanoi and Haiphong in late 1972, the U.S. imperialists were compelled to sign the Paris agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam (January 27, 1973). The agreement provided for an end to the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, the withdrawal of all American and mercenary troops from Vietnam and respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights.

On March 29, 1973, the last American expeditionary troops left Vietnam.

Party Leadership in Economic Restoration and Development in the North and in Supporting the Revolution in the South. Leadership in the General Offensive and Uprisings in the Spring of 1975, Which Completely Liberated the South (1973-1975)

Following the Paris agreement, the party Central Committee set the urgent tasks of building the north and reinforcing the revolution in the south (Resolution 22, Central Committee) and adopted the economic rehabilitation and development plan of 1974-1975.

Acting upon the instructions of the party, the Vietnamese people did their best to overcome the aftermath of war and to rehabilitate the economy. In 1974 rice output surpassed the plan by eight percent, with an increase of 21 percent over 1973. The building of the material and technical foundations made new progress. In 1974 gross industrial and handicraft output surpassed the plan by four percent, an increase of 15 percent over 1973. In general, some major targets attained in industry and agriculture in 1974 were higher than in 1965 and 1971, the peak years of economic development in the 20 years of socialist construction in the north.

Support for the south was stepped up. From 1973 through 1974 150,000 young people joined the armed forces and went to the front. Tens of thousands of cadres, office employees and young volunteers were mobilized to help in the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation in the south. Large amounts of material were moved to the front to meet the immediate needs and to provide for strategic use later on.



At the end of 1974, the 23rd plenum of the party Central Committee adopted a resolution on strengthening the party leadership and increasing the combat capacity of the party.

Stubbornly sticking to the "Nixon doctrine" and the "Vietnamization of the war" policy, the U.S. imperialists, after withdrawing their troops from South Vietnam, continued to build the puppet forces of more than one million men into a tool to carry on their neocolonialism. They supplied these mercenaries with more weapons and war equipment and urged them to carry out landgrabbing operations against the liberated areas in an attempt to put all the south under their control within three years (1973-75).

In July 1973 the party Central Committee held its 21st plenum and defined the tasks of the struggle to force the enemy to implement the Paris agreement and at the same time to prepare for a counteroffensive to win final victory. In pursuance of these objectives, the Vietnamese people recorded many major victories in 1973-74, smashed enemy operations, recovered many areas occupied by the enemy in their landgrabbing operations, narrowed the enemy-controlled areas, broadened the liberated areas and drove the enemy into a position of passive defense. By the end of 1974 conditions had been ripe for liberating the south.

The meetings for the party Political Bureau in October 1974 and January 1975 decided to complete the preparations for a general offensive and uprising to take power into the hands of the people and completely liberate the south.

Under the party's leadership, the country's great forces were mobilized for this decisive battle aimed at securing victory within 1975 and 1976 and possibly right in 1975. This resolution was taken in spite of the U.S. imperialists' threat and the Chinese reactionaries' attempt to prevent Vietnam from developing its forces by reducing their aid while colluding with the United States to maintain the Nguyen Van Thieu administration and occupying the Vietnamese Hoang Sa archipelago by force (Jan. 20, 1974).

The spring 1975 general offensive and uprising (Mar. 10 - Apr. 30, 1975), which culminated in the victorious Ho Chi Minh campaign, put an end to the glorious anti-U.S. resistance war for national salvation of the Vietnamese people conducted over nearly 21 years. The Saigon puppet administration was toppled, the U.S. imperialists' scheme to maintain their client regime in the south was thwarted, and the whole southern part of Vietnam liberated.

Party Leadership in Building and Defending Independent, Reunified and Socialist Vietnam and in Defeating The Wars of Aggression by Chinese Expansionism (1975-80).

Following the liberation of the south, the party led the people in quickly stabilizing the situation. In Aug. 1975 the 24th plenum of the party Central Committee pointed out the favourable conditions for the revolution after the reunification of the country. "The sooner the country is reunified", it said, "the quicker will be the full development of the overall strength of the nation", and defined the strategic task for the whole country, namely to step up socialist construction in the north while carrying out socialist transformation and construction in the south.

On April 25, 1976, the general election to the Sixth National Assembly was held throughout the country. The new assembly renamed the country "the Socialist Republic of Vietnam".

From Dec. 14-20, 1976 the Fourth National Party Congress was held with the participation of more than 1,000 delegates representing over 1.5 million party members. The congress reviewed the party's diversified experiences in conducting the anti-U.S. imperialist resistance war for national salvation and mapped out the line for socialist revolution in the whole country, the orientation and tasks of the second five-year state plan (1976-80) and the line for party building in the new stage of the revolution. The congress renamed the party "the Communist Party of Vietnam" and elected a new Central Committee with Comrade Le Duan as its general secretary.



Since its fourth congress the party has led the entire people to put all-out effort in national construction and defence.

Overcoming enormous difficulties, bringing into play the favourable conditions brought about by national reunification, closely uniting with the Lao and Kampuchean peoples and enjoying the great assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, the Vietnamese people have made many achievements in healing the wounds of war, restoring production, stabilizing the people's life, intensifying national defence and security and gradually building the material and technical basis of socialism.

The Vietnamese people also won glorious victories in the two patriotic wars against the Beijing expansionists and their stooges, the Pol Pot clique.

Under the slogan "all for the socialist homeland and the people's happiness," the entire Vietnamese people are engaging in a stirring labour emulation drive in honour of the coming fifth party congress, harbinger of a high tide of socialist construction and national defence.

#### NHAN DAN SEES U.S. THREAT TO CENTRAL AMERICA

OW230839 Hanoi VNA in English 0705 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, March 23 -- NHAN DAN today demands that the Reagan administration positively respond to the constructive proposals of Nicaragua, Cuba and Mexico to remove tension from El Salvador and the whole of Central America by peaceful means.

The paper says: "Public opinion in Latin America and the world as a whole clearly sees that the root cause of mounting tension in the Caribbean and Central America is the Reagan administration's adventurous policy of imposing U.S. neo-colonialism on these strategic regions... The elections to be staged by the Duarte regime and the support of reactionaries in Argentina, Chile, Israel and South Africa for this clique are calculated to save the fascist junta in El Salvador".

The paper notes that the grave situation in El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries is the result not of an administrative crisis but of a profound institutional crisis.

It continues: "As proved by facts in El Salvador, each escalation in U.S. intervention has made the people more determined. In spite of brutal repression, Salvadoran patriots are closely united. Together with the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Democratic Revolutionary Front, they are pushing up their struggle to overthrow the dictatorial regime... In Nicaragua, the people, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Government for National Reconstruction do not flinch from hostile actions and threat of aggression on the part of the U.S. imperialists".

"Progressive mankind is following with admiration the struggle of the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America, which, though difficult and complicated, is advancing gloriously", NHAN DAN says.

ELECTION VIOLENCE ERUPTS; COUNTERACTIONS TAKEN

## Violence in Sulawesi, Java

BK230400 Hong Kong AFP in English 0332 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Text] Jakarta, 23 Mar (AFP) -- With the situation in Jakarta calm following violence at a recent ruling Golkar (functional groups) election campaign rally, clashes were today reported to have broken out in South Sulawesi (Celebes) and west Java between factions of Golkar and its main rival Moslem United Development Party (PPP).

PPP Executive Mochtar was badly wounded in a clash with Golkar members at the south Celebes provincial capital, Ujungpandang, on Friday, the Jakarta newspaper PERLITA (TORCH) reported. The clash followed an incident in which Mochtar removed a Golkar symbol which covered a PPP signboard. His house was stoned by Golkar men who then attacked him with sharp weapons, the paper said.

In several places in west Java certain groups had removed PPP symbols and signboards causing tension between PPP and Golkar followers, the paper said.

Meanwhile a group of Golkar sympathizers had defected to PPP, the paper said in another report.

The former Golkar members, all from the big Gawe community, had pledged to vote for PPP on polling day on May 4, the paper said.

In a statement signed by its chairman Salman Amin, the community called on its friends and associates to vote the PPP.

The defection was the first by a Golkar group to PPP, whose supporters had staged a molotov cocktail attack on the Golkar rally here last Thursday which sparked off mass rioting.

A PPP spokesman said the party is to stage five campaign rallies in Jakarta tomorrow.

Head of Golkar faction in Parliament Sugiharto said last night Golkar would deal firmly with those trying to disrupt its campaign rallies. We are ready to face them and we shall not remain idle towards any act of terrorism, he added.

## Panggabean Views Jakarta Riot

BK230825 Jakarta ANTARA in English 0721 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Text] Jakarta, 23 Mar (ANTARA) -- The three contestants in the genral elections in May are entirely innocent of the rioting which erupted during a preelection campaign rally held by the Golkar functional group at Banteng Square here last Thursday, it was stressed by Minister Coordinator for Political and Defence Affairs General Maraden Panggabean Monday night.

The exoneration of the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), a merger of Muslim parties, the ruling Golkar and the Partai Democracy Indonesia (PDIO from any guilt in the rally disturbances at Banteng Square was made known by General Panggabean to reporters after he called in President Suharto at the Jalan Cendana presidential mansion here. But he pointed out if these contestants were clean then there must be another party involved in causing the troubles. Who would be the other party, he was asked by the journalists.

General Panggabean replied that the matter was still under investigation. He said however both extreme leftists and rightists were still lurking around and they would exploit every opportunity to foment trouble.

The military leader, a former minister of defence, then asked for constant vigilance. He said this should be treated as a serious challenge as the extreme rightists and leftists could cause trouble. He was also questioned about the 240 persons detained for the troubles at Banteng Square, and said that these people were still being interrogated. Who the mastermind is of the rioting at Lapangan is still under investigation, the minister coordinator said.

Up to Monday, he added, it could not be ascertained on who was the mastermind but there were some indications, the retired four-star army general added, without however entering into details. He then appealed to the contestants to realize the sacred mission and pure goals of the general elections and after this awareness, he was convinced that the parties should avoid at all costs that they would be exploited by third parties. Carelessness, he added, would provide opportunity for extremists to exploit the situation and this must be avoided. The extremists were always waiting for the right opportunity to foment trouble and the three contestants should be very vigilant, he urged.

On the other hand, he said, the security forces should be able to ensure public order and security to allow the people to carry out their electioneering and election rallies in peace and tranquility.

#### Over 200 Jakarta Rioters Freed

BK231045 Hong Kong AFP in English 1015 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Excerpt] Jakarta, 23 Mar (AFP) -- More than 200 people who were arrested here for allegedly taking part in mass rioting last week have been released, Jakarta military commander Major General Normal Sasono said today. "Most of them were school students who were influenced by others to embark on destruction and arson," he added.

A total of 30 people, strongly suspected of having masterminded the disturbances, are still being detained, he indicated.

General Sasono said the military had managed to put down the violence in a short time and were taking steps to trace those behind the rioting. "Had we not acted quickly, the situation might have become worse," he noted.

"It is not impossible that more arrests will be made soon," he added.

COVERAGE OF MARCOS TRIP TO SAUDI ARABIA

## Formal Talks With Khalid

OW221235 Quezon City RPN Television Network in English 1100 GMT 22 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Formal talks between the president and King Khalid of Saudi Arabia began this afternoon at 5 our time [0700 GMT], around noon time in Riyadh. Today's talks between the president and the king were held behind closed doors at the royal guest palace. Today's talks along with the respective Cabinet ministers, were to finalize agreement on various areas of cooperation. These areas would touch on energy, agriculture, banking, labor and road building.

Earlier, the president got a briefing on the third 5-year development plan of Saudi Arabia. Economic Planning Minister Hisham Nazir explained to the president and his party that Saudi Arabia plans to transform its oil-based economy into a self-sustaining agro-industrial one in the next two decades.

Among the ministers who met with their Saudi counterparts, Energy Minister Geronimo Velasco discussed with Shaykh Zaki Yamani the crude oil needs of the Philippines. Their talk was held at the 200-room guest palace in Riyadh along with the talks of 13 other ministers who held separate meetings. The formal announcement of the agreements is expected to be made later tonight.

Labor and Employment Minister Blas Ople and his Saudi Arabian counterpart, Labor and Social Affairs Minister Shaykh Ibrahim al-Anqari, talked on manpower development needs but no final details were agreed upon as yet. Both ministers nevertheless felt the need to strengthen bilateral cooperation.

The president is scheduled to call a news conference tonight around 11 o'clock our time [1300 GMT] and he is expected to make important decisions on the results of the various ministerial talks and his own meetings with King Khalid and Prince Fahd.

## Holds Press Conference

HK230121 Manila Domestic Service in English 2300 GMT 22 Mar 82

[Excerpts] President Marcos has presented a set of proposals to enhance technical and economic cooperation between the Philippines and Saudi Arabia. The president submitted the proposals to King Khalid in their third and final meeting in Riyadh.

After the meeting with King Khalid, President Marcos held a press conference at the Riyadh conference palace. The president said he had discussed with Saudi leaders how to enhance bilateral trade. The president said the Philippines can offer food products, middle-management training and labor force. Answering a question on Mindanao, the president said the solution lay in observing the Tripoli agreement. He stressed that the Mindanao problem is basically internal, and no outside country should interfere.

Meantime Saudi Arabia has agreed to provide \$127 million for the manpower development projects of the Philippines in Muslim Mindanao. The Philippines will provide a counterpart fund of 50 million pesos for operations. Labor Minister Blas Ople said Saudi Arabia is interested in importing more skilled Filipino workers to operate machines and factories. Ople said the presidential visit to Saudi Arabia will go a long way in promoting Philippine export labor.

President Marcos and his party leave for Jiddah today for their trip back to the Philippines.



## More on Press Conference

HK230125 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2330 GMT 22 Mar 82

[Excerpts] In our lead story today, the latest developments on the President Marcos state visit to Saudi Arabia. The president today expressed fascination over the similarity of Saudi Arabia's basic ideology of a private enterprise society with an egalitarian base to that of his own. In a press conference, held at the Riyadh conference palace, the president expounded on this similarity of the Saudi system and that of his own found in the book he wrote 10 years ago. The president, who leaves for Jiddah today en route to Manila, said he was fascinated by the parallelism. When other countries, less affluent, give things away, the president pointed out, here in Saudi Arabia one is allowed to borrow money, but has to pay back.

On his meeting with King Khalid, whom he described as healthy, very lucid in mind and with a good appetite, President Marcos said he has offered Philippine expertise in middle management training at his majesty's disposal. He cited the Philippine expertise in the exploitation of natural resources, in agriculture, in researches and the like which could be used in Saudi Arabia.

In answer to a question on the Mindanao problem, the president said the solution still lies in the Tripoli agreement and the ceasefire agreement, which were forged with the help of the Organization of Islamic Conference. Informed by a Saudi newsman that Nur Misuari, the self-proclaimed leader of the Moro National Liberation Front, is in Riyadh, the president said Misuari should come to the Philippines and ask his Muslim brothers if they want to continue fighting. He said a great number of Filipino Muslims want to (?move higher) by developing the region.

At the close of the press conference, the president issued a message to the Filipino workers in Saudi Arabia. He presided them for their performance and felt proud of the information given him by the Saudi leaders that the Filipino workers can be relied upon. He considered this the highest accolade given to the Filipinos, and he said, we are proud of you.

The two leaders also talked on agriculture and food production, hospital administration and rural health, medical research and education links. The president also formally extended an invitation to Saudi Arabia's King Khalid and to members of his royal family and other top government officials to visit the Philippines.

Saudi Arabia has assured the Philippines of unlimited oil supply if she needs it. This is according to Energy Minister Geronimo Velasco, after holding talks with Saudi Arabian Oil Minister Shaykh Zaki Yamani. Velasco said that Yamani assured that his country is prepared to increase oil supply to the Philippines from 46,000 barrels to 60,000 barrels a day.

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